

THE
WORKS
OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bar^t.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

To which is prefixed,

The LIFE and CHARACTER of the AUTHOR.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for G. HAMILTON & J. BALFOUR, A. KINCAID & A.
DONALDSON, L. HUNTER, W. GORDON, J. YAIR, and
C. WRIGHT; and for A. STALKER, at *Glasgow*.

M,DCC,LIV.

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MDCCLIV.

MISCELLANEA.

THE

FIRST PART.

CONTAINING,

- I. *A Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, and Flanders; with their Relation to England, in the Year 1671.*
- II. *An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government.*
- III. *An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland.*
- IV. *Upon the Conjuncture of Affairs in October, 1673.*
- V. *Upon the Excesses of Grief.*
- VI. *An Essay upon the Cure of the GOUT, by MOXA.*

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I. A Survey of the Constitution and Intercourse of the
Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland,
France, and Rhineland; with their Relation to
England, in the Year 1671.

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II. An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Go-

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IV. Upon the Constitution of Affairs in Obo-

les, 1673.

V. Upon the Effects of Grid.

VI. An Essay upon the Court of the Court, by

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MISCELLANEA

A
S U R V E Y
O F T H E

Constitutions and Interests of the EMPIRE, SWEDEN, DENMARK, SPAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE and FLANDERS, with their relation to ENGLAND in the year 1671, and then given to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embassy at the HAGUE.

THE Decay and dissolution of civil, as well as natural bodies, proceeding usually from outward blows and accidents, as well as inward distempers or infirmities, it seems equally necessary for any government to know and reflect upon the constitutions, forces, and conjunctures among their neighbouring States, as well as the factions, humours, and interests of their own subjects; for all power is but comparative; nor can any kingdom take a just measure of its safety by its own riches or strength at home, without casting up at the same time, what invasions may be feared, and what defences expected, from enemies or allies abroad.

It is certain, that so advantageous a situation, as that of his Majesty's dominions in these islands of *Great Britain and Ireland*, makes any foreign consider-

ation less important to us, than to any other nation ; because the numbers and native courage of our men, with the strength of our shipping, have so many ages past, (and still for ought we yet know) made us a match for the greatest of our neighbours at land, and an over-match for the strongest of them at sea ; whereas whoever hurts us, without our own arms, must be able to master us in both these elements. Yet in regard there are the names of several conquests remaining still upon record (though all of them the mere effects of our own divisions and invitations ;) when trade is grown the design of all nations in *Europe*, that are possessed of any maritime provinces, as being the only unexhausted mine, and out of whose treasures all greatness at sea naturally arises ; when, instead of a King of *France* surrounded and bearded by Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, as well as our own possessions in *Normandy* and *Guienne*, instead of a Count of *Flanders* or *Holland*, who served for no more, than like the smaller weights to make the balance sometimes a little even in the greater scales of the *English*, *French*, and *German* powers ; we now behold in *France* the greatest land-forces that perhaps have ever been known under the command of any Christian Prince ; and in the *United Provinces*, the greatest numbers both of ships and mariners that were ever yet heard of under any State in the world ; and which have hitherto been only awed by the strength of our oak, the art of our ship-wrights, and chiefly by the invincible hearts of our seamen : when the prospect of these two powers brings us to consider, that any firm conjunction of them, either by confederacy, or the submission of *Holland*, will prove the nearest approach that was ever made to our ruin and servitude : It may perhaps import us, in this calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more than we have done of late, to the storms that are now rising abroad, and by the best perspectives we can find, to discover
from

from what coast they break, what course they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their danger, and whether the shelter, expected from us by our neighbours, will be only a strain of generosity and humanity, or the best provision we can make hereafter for our own safety.

Those countries, in whose actions or interests we have at any time concerned ourselves, have been the *Empire, France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark*, and the *Low-Countries*, in the two several bodies, usually distinguished by the names of *Flanders* and *Holland*. For with *Poland* we have never gone further than our good-wishes towards their defence against the *Turk*: nor with *Italy*, than our offices of ceremony, or interest of traffic; unless sometimes some short negotiation that served the present turn, to stop the aspiring growth of either the *French* or *Spanish* greatness, in those as well as nearer parts.

THE foreign interests of the Empire are the defence of the eastern parts against the *Turk*, and the preservation of the western circles against the growth of *France*. The domestic are the limited constitution of the imperial power, and the balance of the several free Princes and States of the Empire among themselves. The two last have raised no dust since the peace of *Munster*, which seems chiefly occasioned by the *Swede's* coming in to be a member of the Empire, upon the share then yielded to him in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*. These gave him an immediate entrance into the heart of *Germany*, where the native poverty of his own country, makes him considered as still upon the wing, and ready to stoop at the first quarry he can meet with, upon any divisions in the Empire; so as there seems a general resolution not to furnish

furnish him with such occasions. Their defence against the *Turk* will be provided and pursued by common inclinations and forces, unless those Princes of the western circles should at the same time be busied in some nearer danger from *France*. But if the *Grand Visier* be so great a man as he is reputed in politics, as well as arms, he will never consent, by an invasion of *Hungary*, to make way for the advance of the *French* progress into the Empire, which a conquest of the *Low-Countries* would make easy and obvious: and so great accessions (with others that would lie fair and open in the *Spanish* Provinces upon the *Mediterranean*) would make *France* a formidable power to the *Turk* himself, and greater than I suppose he desires to see any in Christendom. So that it seems not improbable, that the present peace between the Emperor and the *Turk*, may last longer than is generally calculated by the fears or desires of those who are most concerned in it.

In the preservation of the western circles (especially that of *Burgundy* and the *Rhine*) against the progress of the *French* greatness, the dispositions, if not interests of the several members of the Empire seem much more divided. The Emperor himself is firm in resolving it, because he has nothing to fear so much as the power and ambition of *France*, in regard of their common pretensions to *Spain*, after the young King's death, and a jealousy of the Empire itself, after a further course of success: but he will be faint in any execution of such a council, unless spirited by the unanimous decrees of a general diet; from his own dispositions, which are thought rather generous and just, than ambitious and enterprising; from the influence of the *Jesuits* in that Court, who are observed to grow generally *French*, as they were *Spanish* in the last age; from the fear of the *Turks*, who are still like a cloud that hangs over his head; and from a jealousy of *Sweden* joining

joining absolutely with *France*, which might share a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of *Saxony* would fall intirely into the interests of the Emperor in this point, as a Prince that is a true *German*, loves the liberty of the Empire ; foresees, that if it should fall into the *French* hands, all the Princes would grow little companions to what they are, or return to be the several officers of his Court, as they were in the unlimited greatness of some antient Emperors. Besides, his distance from *France*, though it does not instruct him to think wiser than other Princes, yet it helps him to speak boldlier what he thinks upon these conjunctures.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Landgrave of *Hesse*, and, at least, two of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, are, in their dispositions and judgments, upon the same interests ; but will be influenced and awed by *Sweden*, whose ill talent will be still suspected to *Brandenburgh*, upon the differences in *Prussia*, and to *Lunenburgh*, upon the late disappointment at *Bremen*.

The Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* have the same inclinations ; but, lying at the mercy of *France*, in so near and so imperious a neighbourhood, they will take no measures wherein they may not see their own safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire ; wherein no Prince has greater reputation of prudence and caution than the Bishop of *Mentz*.

The Elector *Palatine*, either upon remainders of the antient leagues with *France*, or quarrels with the house of *Austria*, has been thought inclined to the *French* : but as a wise Prince will be found generally in the true interests of the Empire, as far as the seat of his country will give him leave, which, in a war, will be so much exposed.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has been esteemed wholly in the *French* interests since the treaty of *Munster* ; but, by what ties or motives, has not fallen under my observation,

fervation, in regard of the distance of his country, and small commerce out of the limits of the Empire.

The Elector of *Cologne* is a person of much natural goodness and candor, but of age and infirmities, and whom devotion and chymistry have shared between them, and, in a manner, removed from the affairs of his State; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, a man busy, and always in motion or intrigue: but for the rest, whether upon future ambition, or present advantages, esteemed to be perfectly in the *French* interests; so as whatever use can be made by *France* of that Elector's name or country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of *Nieuburgh* is, in his person and mien, rather like an *Italian* than a *German*; and should be so in his disposition, by playing the game of an *Italian* Prince; in declaring no partialities, provoking no enemies, and living more retired than the other Princes of his country: having never shewed any ambition but for the Crown of *Poland*, which design helped to inspire him with great compliance towards all his neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill offices in that point. But the failing of it was thought to have something disoblighed him from *France* (upon whose assistance he reckoned) and has sunk him in a debt, which he will hardly recover.

The Bishop of *Munster* is made only considerable by his situation, which lies, the fittest of all others, to invade *Holland*: and, by the dispositions of this man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raise a name in the world; an old implacable hatred to the *Dutch*, upon their intelligence with his chief town of *Munster*: their usurpation (as he pretends) of *Borkloe*, and some other small places in his country: their protection of the Countess of *Benthem*; and the hopes of sharing *Overyssel* or *Friesland*, if ever their spoils come to be divided,

vided, make him a certain friend to what Prince soever is enemy to them, and will furnish him with men or money enough to appear in the head of an army against them.

The general interest that the several Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the esteem of his Majesty's power, and the veneration of his name; which is so great amongst them, that most of them are resolved, in the present conjuncture of affairs in *Christendom*, to understand perfectly his language, before they speak their own.

THE government of *Sweden* is esteemed steady and wise, as their people warlike and numerous. The digestion of their counsels is made in a senate, consisting of forty counsellors, who are generally the greatest men of the kingdom, in office, estates, or abilities; and who have, most of them, been commanders in the *German* wars, or are so in the present militia; which makes their counsels generally warlike and ambitious, though something tempered by the minority of their King. This has turned them, for some years since their last King's death, rather to make advantages by the name and reputation of their alliances, than by the appearance of their arms. But if their King grows a man, and of martial thoughts, as may be presaged from so great a father, we may see great actions and revolutions grow again out of this northern climate. For the names of *Goth* and *Vandal*, and their famous successes both in *Poland* and *Germany* this last age, inspire them with great thoughts; and the bodies and courage of their common men, as well as the prudence and conduct of their great officers, seem to have framed them for great undertakings. Besides,
their

their application of late years to trade, has much increased their shipping and seamen (which they found to be their weak side in their last attempts.) All these may, in time, make way for their great design, which is, the dominion of the *Baltic* sea by the conquest of *Denmark*. This was, about the year 59, wrested out of their hands by the *Dutch* assistances, and can hardly escape them, if ever that commonwealth should be broken. And if they arrive once at this point, there will grow a power in that rough climate, which, both at land and sea, may equal most others that are now in *Christendom*; by being masters of such numbers of strong and valiant men, as well as of all the naval stores that furnish the world.

They have a nearer prospect upon the city of *Bremen*, by the addition whereof, to the Bishoprick already in their possession, they design to lay a great foundation, both of trade and strength, in the nearer parts of *Germany*.

Their next interest seems to be a long knocking war in the Empire, or the *Low-countries*; which will make them courted by all till they think fit to declare, and then will bring them to a share in the game: and those often go away with the greatest, who bring in least when the stake begins. The neglects of *France*, since the peace of *Munster*, and the late courtship of *Spain*, seem to have left them open for the fairest offer from either of those Crowns; but rather inclined to *Spain*, which has still the surest funds of treasure (if they could fall into good method or direction) and to whom they are more necessary than to *France*, which has out-grown almost all measures with their neighbours. They have a peek to *Holland* something in shew, but more at heart, as lying cross to their three designs; the dominion of the *Baltick*, their acquisition of *Bremen*, and a war in the Upper or Lower *Germany*. And they are so wise a
State,

State as to be found commonly in their interest; which, for these reasons, is either an absolute breaking, or a great weakening of that commonwealth. Besides, they esteemed themselves at least neglected by them in the late negotiation of the triple-alliance, wherein they expected constant subsidies in the time of peace, from *Spain* and *Holland*, to engage them in the defence of all those provinces against the threatening power of *France*.

An old friendship to our nation, and alliance, proceeding from a long conjunction of interests, besides the necessity of keeping well with one of the greatest maritime powers, will (as may be conjectured) persuade them to follow his Majesty's measures the closest and furthest of any State in *Europe*. This gave them the first design of entering into the triple alliance, and into the commerce with *Spain* in the year 68, and their resolution of keeping peace with his Majesty in both these points, as well as the consequences of them, which they will do, unless the present scene should wholly change, and open new counsels and interests not yet thought of in the world.

THE kingdom of *Denmark* seems less considerable than their neighbour-crown, from a fainter spirit which appears of late in their people, and in their government itself; as well as a great inequality of number in their forces, both at sea and land: for the last change of their government, from elective to hereditary, has made it seem hitherto of less force, and unsuited for action abroad. As all great changes, brought about by force or address, in an old constitution of government, rooted in the hearts and customs of the people, though they may in time prove an increase of strength and greatness (when fallen into method,

thod, and grown easy by use) yet, for many years, they must needs weaken it, by the divisions and distractions of mens minds, and discontents of their humours, and so turn the counsels upon designs within, desisting from any without; and advantages upon enemies must give way to those upon subjects. So as the breaking down an old frame of government, and erecting a new, seems like cutting down an old oak (because the fruit decays, and the branches grow thin) and planting a young one in the room. 'Tis true, the son or grandson (if it prospers) may enjoy the shade and the masse; but the planter, besides the pleasure of imagination, has no other benefit to recompense the pains of setting and digging, the care of watering and pruning, the fears of every storm and every drought; and it is well, if he escapes a blow from the fall of the old tree, or its boughs, as they are lopped off.

The change in *Denmark* was the safer, by having to deal with a soft easy people, and with Nobles grown to have small power or interest amongst them, and of whom many were gained by the Crown. Besides, that nothing seemed to concern property in the change of successive for elective. And the example of all Christian Crowns (besides that of *Poland*) made way for it: and yet it is certain, that *Denmark* has continued ever since weak and unspirited, bent only upon safety, and enjoying the revenues of the *Sound* (which are the chief belonging to that Crown.) So as their great interest is their defence against *Sweden*; and for the rest, a general peace, by which traffick increasing, they may come in for a share, and see their customs grow in the *Sound* and *Norway*. They reckoned chiefly upon their support from *Holland*, till seeing them fall into closer measures with us and *Sweden*, upon the triple alliance, they have tacked some points nearer *France*; and the rather, because of the unkindness grown in the last *Dutch* war between us and them. Yet, they have

have it at heart, that *Holland* has ever used them insolently, if not scornfully, in the whole course of their treaties and alliances, as well as the differences between them about the payments of the *Sound*; and will be ever ready and resolute in the defence of *Hamborough*, whenever the *Danes* shall have strength and heart enough to attack it; which seems the chief ambition they have left them abroad.

THE Crown of *Spain* was, in all *Philip II.*'s time, looked upon as both the terror and defence of *Christendom*: no monarchy having ever grasped at so great an Empire there, and at the same time pursued an open war against so great a power as the *Turks*. This greatness was grown up by the union of the houses of *Castile* and *Arragon*, of that of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, with that of *Naples* and *Sicily*: by the accession or conquest of *Portugal*: by that of the *Indies* (when their mines bled fresh, as they did many years after their first opening: by the number of brave troops and leaders, which were raised and made by the various and continual wars of *Charles V.*; but chiefly by the uninterrupted succession of three great Princes, *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, and *Philip*: which can never fail of raising a small kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary, of bringing down a great one to a small. But whoever measures the Crown of *Spain* now, by the scale of that age, may fancy a man of fourscore by a picture drawn of him at thirty: 'Tis like a great old tree, which has lost its branches and leaves, *et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram*. Though no man knows, whether out of this old root a sucker may not spring, that with a little shelter at first, and good seasons, may in time prove a mighty tree; for there seems still to remain strength and sap in the root to furnish a fair growth, though not in proportion to the first.

These

These decays have been occasioned by so long a war with *Holland* (supported by all the neighbours, who envied or feared the greatness of *Spain*;) by the exhausting in a great degree of their *Indian* mines: by that of their natives, to furnish the *Indian* conquests, and secure all their provinces both in *Italy* and *Flanders*: but most of all by two successions (which we may at least call) of unactive Princes, and the want of any great ministry to repair either them, or the minority of the King, in which they ended. Unless this Crown outgrow its present weakness, by some great spirit rising up at the head of the monarchy, who shall digest their counsels, reform the vast and impertinent profusions of their treasures, by suppressing all unnecessary pensions and expences, and restore the vigour of their nation by martial designs and examples: we may reckon the interest of *Spain* to lie wholly in the preservation and defence of *Flanders* from *France*, of *Sicily* from the *Turks*, and of their *Indies* from us. That of *Sicily* seems more remote, because both *Hungary* and *Poland* is a nearer game for the *Turk*, and will not so generally alarm or unite the Christian Princes, as the invasion of *Sicily*, wherein *France*, as well as *Italy*, is so near concerned. The jealousy of their *Indies* has been much nearer them since our possession of *Jamaica*; and akes at heart upon every fit which the desperate sallies of our privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair weather in those seas, by opening to us some advantages of trade there, and, by a conjunction of interests in *Europe*, which they think the greatness of *France* makes as necessary to us as to them.

Their quarrel to *France*, by a course of almost continual wars, ever since *Charles V.*'s time, by the late pretensions to *Flanders*, set on foot by *France*, since the death of their last King, and pursued by the late invasion (which the *Spaniards* pretend to have been a
gainst

gainst all faith, as well as right) seems to be grown wholly incurable, though dissembled by the sense of their own weakness, which makes them rather willing to deceive themselves with a peace that they know must fail them, than break out into a war they fear must ruin them, without the assistance of their neighbours. And this they hope some breach of the peace at *Aix* on the *French* side, or other accidents, may one time or other engage for them. And though, as they stand single, their present interest is but bare defence, and wearing out their King's minority without further losses; yet a greater interest, and far more at heart, is a war with *France*, in conjunction with the triple alliance, or at least with us and *Holland*. For though the peace holds yet, while *France* continues so great forces and designs on foot, the preservation of *Flanders* will cost *Spain* 200 m. pounds a-year, besides the revenues of the country. And what is left them in those provinces remains so locked and interwoven with the last *French* conquests, that upon the first breach of a war it is all endangered; and indeed cannot be any ways secured, but by a strong diversion, which may employ the greatest part of the *French* forces in some other places. These regards, and that of being hardly used (as they conceive) by us and *Holland*, in the peace of *Aix*, which forced them to quit so much of their country to *France*, and of their money to *Sweden*, have raised up a party in their council, that would make and secure the best peace they can with *France*, by a cession of *Flanders* to that Crown, in exchange for other provinces towards *Spain*, and of some other pretensions. But this will not be carried in a minority of their King; at least without greater fears of a sudden invasion from *France*, and greater despairs of help from us. Because, whenever they quit *Flanders*, they must be content to shut themselves up within their mountains, and signify nothing more in the affairs of *Europe*. Nor could

could they perhaps long be safe either in *Spain* or *Italy*, if they were there to sustain all the forces of *France*, without the great diversion they have always made by *Flanders*; out of which, whenever they are masters of the field, they march in four or five days up into the very isle of *France*.

To compass these two interests either of defence or a war in confederacy, they would fain engage *Sweden*; but will endanger this aim, by the fear of venturing their money before the game begins. They reckon themselves sure of *Holland* as far as their defence, but know, they will never be brought to begin a war with *France*. And the old rancours between *Spaniard* and *Dutch* are not yet enough worn out of the dispositions of the people or the governments, to make room for such an absolute turn. Their great hope is in *England*, where their inclination carries them as well as their interest. Besides, they think our old as well as fresh quarrels with *France*, and the jealousy of their present growth, will temper us for their turn at one time or other, so that their measures will ever be fair with us: but no more towards preserving their peace, because they think our interest as well as our treaties will be enough to engage us so far, without other motives. Though to head a war against *France*, wherein both *Sweden* and *Holland* would (as they think) follow our paces, there is no advantage which the Crown of *Spain* could make us in trade, nor money they could spare from their own necessities (in the share of the quarrel) which they would not willingly furnish us, and trust to the events of a war how uncertain soever.

THE States of *Holland*, in point both of riches and strength, is the most prodigious growth that has been seen in the world, if we reckon it from their peace with *Spain*; before which time, though their forces

forces were great both at land and sea, yet they were kept down by too violent exercise; and that government could not be said to stand upon its own legs, leaning always on their neighbours, who were willing to support them against *Spain*, and feared nothing from a State so narrow in compass of land, and so weak in native subjects, that the strength of their armies has ever been made up of foreign troops. But since that time, what with the benefit of their situation, and orders of their government, the conduct of their ministers (driving on steady and public interest) the art, industry, and parsimony of their people, all conspiring to drive almost the trade of the whole world into their circle (while their neighbours were taken up either in civil or foreign wars) they have grown so considerable in the world, that for many years they have treated upon an equal foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no negotiation without advantage: and, in the last war with us and *Munster*, were able at the same time to bring above an hundred men of war to sea, and maintain three score and ten thousand men at land. Besides, the establishment or conquests of their companies in the *East-Indies* have in a manner erected another subordinate commonwealth in those parts; where upon occasion they have armed five and forty men of war, and thirty thousand land-men, by the modestest computations. Yet the frame of this State (as of most great machines made for rest and not for motion) is absolutely incapable of making any considerable enlargements or conquests upon their neighbours: which is evident to all that know their constitutions: But needs no other argument besides their want of native subjects to manage any such attempts; what men they can spare being drawn so wholly into their trade, and their *East-Indies*, that they cannot so much as furnish a colony for *Surinam*, proportioned to the safety and plantation of that place: and no nation ever made and held

held a conquest by mercenary arms. So that the wounds and fears, they can give their neighbours, consists in point of trade; in injuries or insolences at sea; in falling with great weight into a balance with other Princes; in protecting their rebels or fugitives; and in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States, a quality natural to men bred in popular governments, and derived of late years from the great successes of theirs under the present ministry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a maxim, that no wise State will ever begin a war, unless it be upon designs of conquests, or necessity of defence; for all other wars serve only to exhaust forces and treasure, and end in untoward peace, patched up out of weakness or weariness of the parties: therefore the *Hollanders*, unless invaded either at home or in *Flanders* (which they esteem now the same case, if it comes from *France*) can have no interest to offer at a war, but find their greatest in continuing their course of traffic uninterrupted, and enjoying the advantages which, in that point, their industry and address will gain them from all their neighbours. And for these ends they will endeavour to preserve the peace now in being, and bandy by leagues and negotiations against any from whom they shall fear a breach of it.

They will ever seek to preserve themselves by an alliance with *England* against *France*, and by that of *France* against *England*, as they did formerly by both against *Spain*. And they will fall into all conjunctures which may serve to balance in some measure the two lesser Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as the greater of *France* and *Spain*. But, because they believe that good arms are as necessary to keep peace as to make war, they will always be great in their preparations of that kind, especially at sea; by which they may, in all cases, advance or secure their trade, and upon a war with *France*, make up that way the weakness

ness of their land-forces, which a long rust of peace, and a swarm of officers preferred by the Magistrates in favour of their relations, has brought to be very disproportioned in force to what they are in number. They esteem themselves secure from *Spain* and their *German* neighbours (upon what has been said of the present condition of those Princes;) and from us, not so much upon our late treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common interest, which they think a nation can never run over, and believe is the opposing any further progress of the *French* greatness. Their only danger they apprehend is from *France*, and that not immediately to themselves, but to *Flanders*, where any flame would soon scorch them, and consume them, if not quenched in time. But in regard of the weakness of *Spain*, the slow motions of the *Empire*, the different paces among the Princes of it, and the distance of *Sweden*; they esteem the peace of Christendom to depend wholly upon his Majesty, as well as the safety of *Flanders*, in case of a war. For they think *France* will be dared, and never take wing, while they see such a naval power as ours and the *Dutch* hovering about all their coasts; and so many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever his Majesty declares, united by the same jealousies or dangers. And, if they should open a war, they foresee the consumption which *France* must fall into by the stop of their wine, salts, and other commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two nations,) and the head that may be made against their forces in the field itself, by a body of *English* infantry, (so much renowned abroad.) So as though their first interest be to continue the peace, while it may be done with any safety, yet, when that fails, their next is to open a war in favour of *Spain*, and conjunction with us: and the greatest they have in the world, is to preserve and increase their alliance with

with us; which will make them follow our measures absolutely in all the present conjunctures.

THE Crown of *France*, considered in the extent of country, in the number of people, in the riches of commodities, in the revenues of the King, the greatness of the land-forces now on foot, and the growth of those at sea (within these two years past,) the number and bravery of their officers, the conduct of their ministers, and chiefly in the genius of their present King; a Prince of great aspiring thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in pursuit, severe in the institution and preservation of order and discipline: in the main a manager of his treasure, and yet bountiful from his own motions, where-ever he intends the marks of favour, and discerns particular merit: to this in the flower of his age, at the head of all his armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts at home or abroad: I say, considered in all these circumstances, *France* may appear to be designed for greater achievements and empires, than have been seen in *Christendom* since that of *Charlemaign*.

The present greatness of this Crown may be chiefly derived from the fortune it has had of two great Ministers (*Richlieu* and *Mazarine*) succeeding one another, between two great Kings, *Henry IV.* and this present Prince; so as during the course of one unactive life, and of a long minority, that Crown gained a great deal of ground both at home and abroad, instead of losing it, which is the common fate of kingdoms upon those occasions.

The latter greatness of this Crown began in the time of *Lewis XI.* by the spoils of the house of *Burgundy*, and the divisions of the Princes, which gave that King the heart of attempting to bring the government (as he called it) *Hors de Page*; being before controuled by

by their Princes, and restrained by their states; and, in point of revenue, kept within the bounds of the King's demesnes, and the subjects voluntary contributions.

'Tis not here necessary to observe, by what difficulties and dangers to the Crown, this design of *Lewis* was pursued by many succeeding Kings, like a great stone forced up a hill, and, upon every slackening of either strength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the hill, and sometimes with the destruction of those that forced it on, till the time of Cardinal *Richlieu*. It was in this great Minister most to be admired, that finding the regency shaken by the factions of so many great ones within, and awed by the terror of the *Spanish* greatness without, he durst resolve to look them both in the face, and begin a war, by the course of which for so many years (being pursued by *Mazarine* till the year 60,) the Crown of *France* grew to be powerfully armed; the peasants were accustomed to payments (which could have seemed necessary only by a war, and which none but a successful one could have helped to digest) and grew heartless as they grew poor. The Princes were sometimes satisfied with commands of the army, sometimes mortified and suppressed by the absoluteness or addresses of the ministry: the most boiling blood of the nobility and gentry was let out in so long a war, or wasted with age and exercise: at last it ended at the *Pyrenees* in a peace, and a match so advantageous to *France*, as the reputation of them contributed much to the authority of the young King, who was bred up in the councils, and served by the tried instruments of the former ministry: but most of all advantaged by his own personal qualities, fit to make him obeyed, grew absolute master of the factions of the great men, as well as the purses of his people. In the beginning of his minority, the two disputes with the Pope about
the

the outrage of the *Gorfi*, and with the King of *Spain*, about the encounter at *London*, between the Count *D'Estades* and the Baron *de Banteville* (Ambassadors from those Crowns) both carried so high, and both ended so honourably, and to the very will of *France*, were enough to give a young Prince the humour and appetite of trying yet further what there was could oppose him. The invasion and easy success in *Flanders* fed his glory, and increased the reputation of his power: till this career was interrupted by the peace at first, then the alliances between us and *Holland*, and afterwards the peace at *Aix*, and the triple alliance (contracted purposely to secure it;) since which time the counsels of that Court have turned wholly from action to negotiation; of which no man can yet see the success, nor judge whether it may not be more prosperous to them, than that of their arms.

If there were any certain height where the flights of power and ambition use to end, one might imagine, that the interest of *France* were but to conserve its present greatness, so feared by its neighbours, and so glorious in the world: but besides that the motions and desires of human minds are endless, it may perhaps be necessary for *France* (from respects within) to have some war or other in pursuit abroad, which may amuse the nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their condition at home, hard and uneasy to all but such as are in charge, or in pay from the Court. I do not say miserable (the term usually given it) because no condition is so, but to him that esteems it so; and if a *païsan* of *France* thinks of no more than his coarse bread and his onions, his canvas cloaths and wooden shoes; labours contentedly on working-days, and dances or plays merrily on holy-days: he may, for aught I know, live as well as a boor of *Holland*, who is either weary of his very ease, or whose cares of growing still richer and richer waste his life in toils at land,

or dangers at sea; and perhaps fool him so far, as to make him enjoy less of all kind in his riches, than the other in his poverty.

But to leave strains of philosophy, which are ill mingled with discourses of interest: the common people of *France* are as little considerable in the government, as the children; so that the Nobles and the soldiers may in a manner be esteemed the nation; whose interest and hopes carry them all to war: and whatever is the general humour and bent of a nation ought ever to be much considered by a state, which can hardly miscarry in the pursuit of it. Besides, the personal dispositions of the King, active and aspiring, and many circumstances in the government (fitter for persons of that Court, than strangers to pretend the knowledge of;) the continual increase of their forces in time of peace, and their fresh invasion of *Lorrain*, are enough to persuade most men, that the design of this Crown is a war, whenever they can open it with a prospect of succeeding to purpose; for their counsels are too wise to venture much upon the hopes of little gains. What the aims of *France* are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common fears or the schemes of men too ingeniously politic; nor perhaps can any one tell any more than a man that leaps into the water in strength and vigour, and with pleasure, can say how far he will swim; which will be, till he is stopped by currents or accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do something else. One may judge, that, if *France* will begin a war, it would be naturally upon *Flanders*, unless discouraged by the same alliances which prevailed with them to end the last; so as the plain present interest of *France* is one way or other to break the confidence or the force of that triple alliance, which alone seems to bound their prospect, which way soever they look: and, if once laid open, they have the world and their fortunes before them; which

which is enough for a Crown that has so much force, and so much conduct to manage them. Having little hopes of breaking this on the *Dutch* side, and knowing the *Swede* will follow our measures in it, we may be sure of all address, and all the courtship that can any way be infused. And in short, all sorts of endeavours and applications that can be used, to break in on ours. Which seems to be the present game of that Crown, and that they will begin no other till they see an end of this.

F*Landers* cannot be considered distinct from *Spain* in the government, but may in the inclinations of the people, which must ever have a great influence upon it. They are the best subjects in the world, but may have some reason to be weary of being the theatre of almost perpetual wars; and where those two mighty Crowns have fought so many battles, and seem to have still so many more to fight, if the neighbour-assistances fall in to balance their powers, now so unequally matched. Therefore the interest of the inhabitants of those *Spanish* Provinces seems to be, either that the present peace should be kept inviolate by the strength and reputation of the present alliances; or else, that a war, when it opens, should have a sudden issue, which might be expected, either from the *French* conquest, or a proposition of exchange. They are naturally averse from the *French* government, as they are inclined to the *Spanish*; but have so little kindness for the *Hollanders*, or esteem of their land-forces, that they hardly either hope or care to be saved by their assistances. So as the reputation of his Majesty's protection and alliance is all that can inspire them with the hopes of a lasting peace, or the courage to defend themselves by a war.

FROM

FROM the survey of all these several interests, and forces, and dispositions that compose the present state of all our neighbours, it may be naturally and unquestionably concluded, that a continuance of the present measures, the opening of new ones, or an absolute revolution of all, depends wholly upon those his Majesty shall take or pursue in this great conjuncture, wherein he seems to be generally allowed for the sole arbiter of the affairs of *Christendom*.

OUR interest abroad must lie in one of these points. Either to preserve our present alliances, and thereby the peace of *Christendom* as it now stands.

Or to encourage *France* to an invasion of *Holland*, with assurance of our neutrality.

Or else to join with *France* upon the advantages they can offer us, for the ruin of the *Dutch*.

Upon the first is to be considered, whether, with a longer peace, the power of *France* and *Holland*, with so great revenues, and such application as is seen in their governments, will not increase every year out of proportion to what ours will do; the revenues of *France* arising originally from the vent of their native commodities, and those of *Holland* growing wholly out of trade, and that out of peace.

Upon the second, whether *France* will ever resolve upon the invasion of *Holland*, or *Holland* upon its own resolute defence, without our share in the war; which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the trade of the world, and thereby to grow vastly both in strength and treasures, whilst both these powers were breaking one another. Or whether the jealousy of such a design in us would not induce *France* and *Holland*, either before a war, or soon after it begins, to close upon some measures between them to our disadvantage, as we and *Holland* did after the last war, to the disadvantage of *France*.

Upon

Upon the last, whether, by the ruin of *Holland*, we can reap as great advantages as *France* (though perhaps greater were necessary to make some equality in our powers.) And, to gain a fair prospect of this, it must be considered, whether *Holland* upon its fall would grow an accession to the *French* or to us; or live under the Prince of *Orange* as a Sovereign Prince, with our support or protection. Whether *France* would be content with either of these last; or to see us grow absolute masters of the sea, by the fall or subjection of *Holland*, any more than by their conjunction and alliance. Whether we could be able to defend the maritime provinces, either in our own subjection, or in that of the Prince, whilst *France* remained possessed of all the outworks of that State (which are their inland provinces, their towns in *Brabant* and upon the *Rhine*!) whether we could on the other side hinder the accession of *Holland* to *France*, either as subjects in a maritime province (with great privileges and immunities for continuance and encouragement of trade) or as an inferior and dependent ally under their protection. Whether in either of these cases our government would have credit enough in *Holland* to invite their shipping and traders to come over and settle in *England*, and so leave those provinces destitute of both. Whether it be possible to preserve *Flanders* after the loss of *Holland*; or, upon the conquest of those countries by *France*, for us to preserve our peace or good intelligence with that King; or upon a war to defend ourselves, either by our own forces, or the alliances of our neighbours.

But though these arguments may deserve the most serious deliberations of ministers at home; yet I know they lie out of the compass of my duty, and are improper for the representations of a man, the course of whose employments and thoughts for so long a time has lain wholly abroad.

AN
ESSAY
UPON THE
ORIGINAL and NATURE
OF
GOVERNMENT.

[Written in the Year 1672.]

THE nature of man seems to be the same in all times and places, but varied like their statures, complexions, and features, by the force and influence of the several climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them, by a different mixture of the humours, and operation of the air, a different and unequal course of imaginations and passions, and consequently of discourses and actions.

These differences incline men to several customs, educations, opinions, and laws, which form and govern the several nations of the world, where they are not interrupted by the violence of some force from

without, or some faction within, which, like a great blow, or a great disease, may either change or destroy the very frame of a body ; though, if it lives to recover strength and vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural constitution, or something near it.

(I speak not of those changes and revolutions of State, of institutions of government, that are made by the more immediate and evident operation of divine will and providence ; being the themes of divines, and not of common men ; and the subjects of our faith, not of reason.)

This may be the cause that the same countries have generally in all times been used to forms of government much of a sort ; the same nature ever continuing under the same climate, and making returns into its old channel, though sometimes led out of it by persuasions, and sometimes beaten out by force.

Thus the more northern and southern nations (extremes, as they say, still agreeing) have ever lived under single and arbitrary dominions ; as all the regions of *Tartary* and *Muscovy* on the one side, and of *Afric* and *India* on the other : while those under the more temperate climates, especially in *Europe*, have ever been used to more moderate governments, running antiently much into commonwealths, and of later ages into principalities, bounded by laws, which differ less in nature than in name.

For, though the old distinctions run otherwise, there seem to be but two general kinds of government in the world ; the one exercised according to the arbitrary commands and will of some single person ; and the other according to certain orders or laws introduced by agreement or custom, and not to be changed without the consent of many.

But under each of these may fall many more particular kinds than can be reduced to the common heads of government received in the schools. For those

those of the first sort differ, according to the dispositions and humours of him that rules, and of them that obey : as fevers do according to the temper of the persons, and accidents of the seasons. And those of the other sort differ, according to the quality or number of the persons upon whom is devolved the authority of making, or power of executing laws.

Nor will any man, that understands the state of *Poland*, and the *United Provinces*, be well able to range them under any particular names of government that have been yet invented.

The great scenes of action, and subjects of antient story, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, were all divided into small commonwealths, till swallowed up and made provinces by that mighty one of *Rome*, together with *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Germany*. These were before composed of many small governments, among which the cities were generally under commonwealths, and the countries under several Princes, who were Generals in their wars, but, in peace, lived without armies or guards, or any instruments of arbitrary power ; and were only chief of their councils, and of those assemblies, by whose consultations and authority, the great affairs and actions among them were resolved and enterprised.

Through all these regions, some of the smaller States, but chiefly those of the cities, fell often under tyrannies, which spring naturally out of popular governments. While the meaner sort of the people, oppressed or ill protected by the richer and greater, give themselves up to the conduct of some one man in chief credit among them ; and submit all to his will and discretion : either running easily from one extreme to another, or contented to see those, they hated and feared before, now in equal condition with themselves : or because a multitude is incapable of framing orders, though capable of conserving them : or that every man

man comes to find by experience, that confusion and popular tumults have worse effects upon common safety, than the rankest tyranny. For it is easier to please the humour, and either appease or resist the fury of one single man, than of a multitude. And, taking each of them in their extremes, the rage of a tyrant may be like that of fire, which consumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one house after another; whereas the rage of a people is like that of the sea, which, once breaking bounds, overflows a country with that suddenness and violence, as leaves no hopes either of flying or resisting, till, with the change of tides or winds, it returns of itself.

The force and variety of accidents is so great, that it will not perhaps bear reasoning, or inquiry how it comes about, that single arbitrary dominion seems to have been natural to *Asia* and *Afric*, and the other sort to *Europe*. For though *Carthage* was indeed a commonwealth in *Afric*, and *Macedon* a kingdom in *Europe*; yet the first was not native of that soil (being a colony of the *Tyrians*, as there were some other small ones of the *Grecians* upon the same coasts) and the King of *Macedon* governed by laws, and the consent as well as councils of the Nobles. Not, like the Kings of *Persia*, by humour and will; as appears by the event of their quarrel, while so few subjects conquered so many slaves.

Yet one reason may be, that *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy* (which were the regions of commonwealths) were planted thick with rich and populous cities (occasioned by their being so far encompassed with the sea;) and the vein of all rich cities ever inclines to that kind of government. Whether it be, that, where many grow rich, many grow to power, and are harder to be subjected: or, where men grow to great possessions, they grow more intent upon safety, and therefore desire to be governed by laws and magistrates of their own choice,

choice, fearing all armed and arbitrary power: or that the small compass of cities makes the ease and convenience of assemblies and councils: or that conversation sharpens men's wits, and makes too many reasoners in matters of government.

The contrary of all this happens in countries thin inhabited, and especially in vast *Campania's*, such as are extended through *Asia* and *Afric*, where there are few cities besides what grow by the residence of the Kings or their governors. The people are poorer, and, having little to lose, have little to care for, and are less exposed to the designs of power or violence. The assembling of persons, deputed from people at great distances one from another, is trouble to them that are sent, and charge to them that send. And, where ambition and avarice have made no entrance, the desire of leisure is much more natural, than of business and care: besides, men conversing all their lives with the woods and the fields, and the herds more than with one another, come to know as little as they desire; use their senses a great deal more than their reasons; examine not the nature or the tenure of power and authority; find only they are fit to obey, because they are not fit to govern; and so come to submit to the will of him they found in power, as they do to the will of heaven, and consider all changes of conditions, that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill seasons, that happen in the weather and the air.

It may be said further, that, in the more intemperate climates, the spirits, either exhaled by heat, or compressed by cold, are rendered faint and sluggish; and by that reason the men grow tamer, and fitter for servitude. That, in more temperate regions, the spirits are stronger, and more active, whereby men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their liberties.

But

But all government is a restraint upon liberty; and, under all, the dominion is equally absolute, where it is in the last resort.

So that when men seem to contend for liberty, it is indeed but for the change of those that rule, or for the forms of government they have formerly been used to; and (being grown weary of the present) now begin to regret; though when they enjoyed them it was not without some pressure and complaint. Nor can it be in the other case, that when vast numbers of men submit their lives and fortunes absolutely to the will of one, it should be want of heart, but must be force of custom, or opinion, the true ground and foundation of all government, and that which subjects power to authority. *For power, arising from strength, is always in those that are governed, who are many: but authority, arising from opinion, is in those that govern, who are few.*

This distinction is plain in the forms of the old Roman State, where laws were made, and resolutions taken, *authoritate senatus*, and *jussu populi*. The senate were authors of all counsels in the State; and what was by them consulted and agreed, was proposed to the people, by whom it was enacted, or commanded; because in them was the power to make it be obeyed. But the great opinion which the people had at first of the persons of the Senators, and afterwards of their families (which were called *Patricians*) gained easy assent to what was thus proposed, the authority of the persons adding great weight to the reason of the things. And this went so far, that though the choice of all magistrates was wholly in the people, yet, for a long course of years, they chose none but *Patricians* into the great offices of State, either civil or military. But when the people began to lose the general opinion they had of the *Patricians*, or at least so far as to believe some among themselves were as able, and fit as these,

to advise the State, and lead their armies; they then pretended to share with the Senate in the magistracy, and bring in *Plebeians* to the offices of chiefest power and dignity. And hereupon began those seditions which so long distempered, and at length ruined that State.

Authority arises from the opinion of wisdom, goodness, and valour in the persons who possess it.

Wisdom is that which makes men judge what are the best ends, and what the best means to attain them; and gives a man advantage among the weak and the ignorant; as sight among the blind, which is that of counsel and direction: this gives authority to age among the younger, till these being at certain years to change their opinion of the old, and of themselves. This gives it more absolute to a pilot at sea, whom all the passengers suffer to steer them as he pleases.

Goodness is that which makes men prefer their duty and their promise, before their passions, or their interest; and is properly the object of trust: in our language, it goes rather by the name of honesty; though what we call an honest man, the *Romans* called a good man: and honesty in their language, as well as in *French*, rather signifies a composition of those qualities which generally acquire honour and esteem to those who possess them.

Valour, as it gives awe, and promises protection to those who want either heart or strength to defend themselves: this makes the authority of men among women; and that of a master-buck in a numerous herd, though perhaps not strong enough for any two of them; but the impression of single fear holds when they are all together, by the ignorance of uniting.

Eloquence,

Eloquence, as it passes for a mark of wisdom ; beauty of goodness, and nobility of valour (which was its original) have likewise ever some effect upon the opinion of the people ; but a very great one, when they are really joined with the qualities they promise or resemble.

There is yet another source from which usually springs greater authority than from all the rest ; which is the opinion of divine favour, or designation of the persons, or of the races that govern. This made the Kings among the heathens ever derive themselves, or their ancestors, from some God ; passing thereby for heroes, that is, persons issued from the mixture of divine and human race, and of a middle nature between Gods and men : others joined the mitre to the crown, and thereby the reverence of divine, to the respect of civil power.

This made the *Caliphs* of *Persia* and *Egypt*, and the great Emperors of *Arabia*, derive themselves by several branches from their great prophet *Mahomet* : the *Yncas* in *Peru* from the sun : and the *Ottoman* race to be adored among the *Turks*, as designed by Heaven for perpetual empire. And the sacring of the Kings of *France* (as *Loyfel* says) is the sign of their sovereign priesthood, as well as kingdom ; and in the right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant benefices of the church.

Piety, as it is thought a way to the favour of God ; and fortune, as it looks like the effect either of that, or at least of prudence and courage, beget authority. As likewise splendor of living in great palaces, with numerous attendance, much observance, and rich habits differing from common men : both as it seems to be the reward of those virtues already named, or the effect of fortune ; or as it is a mark of being obeyed by many.

From

From all these authority arises, but is by nothing so much strengthened and confirmed as by custom. For no man easily distrusts the persons, or disputes the things which he and all men, that he knows of, have been always bred up to observe and believe; or, if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to introduce opinions wherein he knows none or few of his mind; and thinks all others will defend those already received: so as no man nor party can offer at the change of government established, without first gaining new authority by the steps already traced out; and in some degree debasing the old, by appearance or impressions of contrary qualities in those who before enjoyed it. This induces a general change of opinion concerning the person or party like to be obeyed or followed by the greatest or strongest part of the people: according to which, the power or weakness of each is to be measured. So as in effect all government may be esteemed to grow strong or weak, as the general opinion of these qualities in those that govern is seen to lessen or increase.

And power must be allowed to follow authority in all civil bodies; as in natural, the motions of the body follow those of the mind; great numbers ever acting and pursuing what the few (whom they trust) begin or advise.

FROM this principle, and from the discovery of some natural authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer original of all governments among men, than from any contracts: though these be given us by the great writers concerning politics and laws. Some of them lay for their foundation, that men are sociable creatures, and naturally disposed to live in numbers and troops together. Others, that they are naturally creatures of prey, and in a state of war one upon another;

other; so as to avoid confusion in the first case, and violence in the other, they found out the necessity of agreeing upon some orders and rules, by which every man gives up his common right for some particular possession, and his power to hurt and spoil others for the privilege of not being hurt or spoiled himself. And the agreement upon such orders, by mutual contract, with the consent to execute them by common strength and endeavours, they make to be the rise of all civil governments.

I know not whether they consider what it is that makes some creatures sociable, and others live and range more alone, or in smaller companies; but I suppose those creatures whose natural and necessary food is easy and plentiful, as grass, or plants, or fruits (the common product of the earth) are the sociable creatures, because, where-ever they go, they usually find what they want, and enough for them all, without industry or contention. And those live more alone, whose food (and therefore prey) is upon other sensitive creatures, and so not attained without pursuit and violence, and seldom in such quantities at once, as to satisfy the hunger of great numbers together. Yet this does not hold so far, but that ravens are seen in flocks where a carrion lies, and wolves in herds to run down a deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all; quarrel only when it begins to fail; and when it is ended, they scatter to seek out new encounters. Besides, those, called sociable, quarrel in hunger and in lust, as well as the others; and the bull and the ram appear then as much in fury and war, as the lion and the bear. So that, if mankind must be ranged to one of these sorts, I know not well to which it will be: and considering the great differences of customs and dispositions in several men and even in the same men at several times, I very much doubt they must be divided into several forms.

Nor

Nor do I know, if men are like sheep, why they need any government: or, if they are like wolves, how they can suffer it. Nor have I read where the orders of any state have been agreed on by mutual contract among great numbers of men, meeting together in that natural state of war, where every man takes himself to have equal right to every thing. But often, where such orders have been invented by the wisdom, and received by the authority of some one man, under the name of a lawgiver; and where this has not happened, the original of government lies as undiscovered in story, as that of time: all nations appearing, upon the first records that are left us, under the authority of Kings, or Princes, or some other magistrates.

Besides, this principle of contract, as the original of government, seems calculated for the account given by some of the old poets, of the original of man; whom they raise out of the ground by great numbers at a time, in perfect stature and strength. Whereas if we deduce the several races of mankind in the several parts of the world from generation, we must imagine the first numbers of them, who in any place agree upon any civil constitutions, to assemble not as so many single heads, but as so many heads of families, whom they represent, in the framing any compact or common accord; and consequently, as persons who have already an authority over such numbers as their families are composed of.

For if we consider a man multiplying his kind by the birth of many children, and his cares by providing even necessary food for them, till they are able to do it for themselves (which happens much later to the generations of men, and makes a much longer dependence of children upon parents, than we can observe among any other creatures:) if we consider not only the cares, but the industry he is forced to, for
the

the necessary sustenance of his helpless brood, either in gathering the natural fruits, or raising those which are purchased with labour and toil; if he be forced for supply of this stock to catch the tamer creatures, and hunt the wilder, sometimes to exercise his courage in defending his little family, and fighting with the strong and savage beasts (that would prey upon him as he does upon the weak and the mild;) if we suppose him disposing with discretion and order whatever he gets among his children, according to each of their hunger or need, sometimes laying up for to-morrow, what was more than enough for to-day; at other times pinching himself, rather than suffering any of them should want: and as each of them grows up, and able to share in the common support, teaching him both by lesson and example, what he is now to do as the son of this family, and what hereafter as the father of another: instructing them all, what qualities are good, and what are ill, for their health and life, or common society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally esteemed virtue or vice among men) cherishing and encouraging dispositions to the good; disavouring and punishing those to the ill. And lastly, among the various accidents of life, lifting up his eyes to heaven, when the earth affords him no relief; and having recourse to a higher and a greater nature, whenever he finds the frailty of his own: we must needs conclude, that the children of this man cannot fail of being bred up with a great opinion of his wisdom, his goodness, his valour, and his piety. And, if they see constant plenty in the family, they believe well of his fortune too.

And from all this must naturally arise a great paternal authority, which disposes his children (at least till the age when they grow fathers themselves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he advises, and obey what he commands.

Thus

Thus the father, by a natural right as well as authority, becomes a governor in this little state; and if his life be long, and his generations many (as well as those of his children) he grows the governor or King of a nation, and is indeed a *pater patriæ*, as the best Kings are, and as all should be; and as those, which are not, are yet content to be called: Thus the peculiar compellation of the King, in *France*, is by the name of *Sire*, which in their ancient language is nothing else but father, and denotes the Prince to be the father of the nation. For a nation properly signifies a great number of families, derived from the same blood, born in the same country, and living under the same government and civil constitutions. As *Patria* does the land of our father; and so the *Dutch* by expressions of dearness, instead of our country, say our *father-land*. With such nations we find in scripture all the lands of *Judea*, and the adjacent territories, were planted of old. With such the many several provinces of *Greece* and *Italy*, when they began first to appear upon the records of ancient story or tradition. And with such was the main land of *Gaul* inhabited in the time of *Cæsar*; and *Germany* in that of *Tacitus*. Such were the many branches of the old *British* nation; the *Scepts* among the *Irish*; and such the infinite variety and numbers of nations in *Africa* and *America* upon the first discoveries, distinguished by their several names, and living under their several Kings or Princes, till they came to be swallowed up by greater empires.

These seem to have been the natural and original governments of the world, springing from a tacit deference of many to the authority of one single person. Under him (if the father of the family or nation) the elder of his children comes to acquire a degree of authority among the younger, by the same means the father did among them; and to share with him in the consultation and conduct of their common affairs.

And

And this, together with an opinion of wisdom from experience, may have brought in the authority of the elders so often mentioned among the *Jews*; and in general of aged men, not only in *Sparta* and *Rome*, but all other places in some degree, both civil and barbarous. For the names of Lord, Signior, Seigneur, Sennor, in the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* languages, seem to have at first imported only elder men, who thereby were grown into authority among the several governments and nations, which seated themselves in those countries upon the fall of the *Roman* empire.

This perhaps brought in vogue that which is called the authority of the ancients in matters of opinion, though by a mistaken sense: for I suppose authority may be reasonably allowed to the opinion of ancient men in the present age; but I know not why it should be so to those of men in general that lived in ages long since past; nor why one age of the world should be wiser than another; or if it be, why it should not be rather the latter than the former; as having the same advantage of the general experience of the world, that an old man has of the more particular experiments of life.

THUS a family seems to become a little kingdom, and a kingdom to be but a great family.

Nor is it unlikely that this paternal jurisdiction in its successions, and with the help of accidents, may have branched out into the several heads of government commonly received in the schools. For a family, governed with order, will fall naturally to the several trades of husbandry, which are tillage, gardening, and pasturage (the product whereof was the original riches.) For the managing of these and their increase, and the assistance of one man, who perhaps

is to feed twenty, it may be a hundred children (since it is not easily told how far generations may extend, with the arbitrary choice and numbers of women, practised anciently in most countries) the use of servants comes to be necessary. These are gained by victory and captives, or by fugitives out of some worse governed family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and so sell their liberty to be assured of what is necessary to life. Or else by the debased nature of some of the children who seem born to drudgery, or who are content to increase their pains that they may lessen their cares; and upon such terms become servants to some of their brothers, whom they most esteem or chuse soonest to live with.

The family, thus increased, is still under the father's common, though not equal care; that what is due to the servants by contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the portions of the children; and that whatever they acquire by their industry or ingenuity (beyond what the masters expect, or exact from them by the conditions of their servitude) should be as much their property as any divisions of land or of stock that are made to the sons; and the possession as secure, unless forfeited by any demerit or offence against the customs of the family, which grow with time to be the orders of this little state.

Now the father of a family or nation, that uses his servants like children in point of justice and care; and advises with his children in what concerns the commonweal, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all, is what I suppose the schools mean by a monarch. And he that by harshness of nature, wilfulness of humour, intemperance of passions, and arbitrariness of commands, uses his children like servants, is what they mean by a tyrant. And whereas the first thought himself safe in the love and obedience

obedience of his children, the other, knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be safe among his children, but by putting arms into the hands of such of his servants as he thinks most at his will; which is the original of guards. For against a foreign enemy, and for defence of evident interest, all that can bear arms in a nation are soldiers. Their cause is common safety; their pay is honour; and when they have purchased these, they return to their homes, and former conditions of peaceable lives. Such were all the armies of *Greece* and of *Rome*, in the first ages of their states. Such were their *gens d'ordonance* in *France*, and the train-bands in *England*; but standing troops, and in constant pay, are properly servants armed, who use the lance and the sword, as other servants do the sickle or the bill, at the command and will of those who entertain them. And therefore martial law is of all other the most absolute, and not like the government of a father, but a master.

And this brings in another sort of power, distinct from that already described, which follows authority, and consists in the willing obedience of the people: but this in the command of soldiers, who as servants are bound to execute the will and orders of those that lead them. And as authority follows the qualities before-mentioned, so this power follows riches, or the opinion of it; a multitude of servants being his that is able to maintain them. And these kind of forces come to be used by good Princes, only upon necessity of providing for their defence against great and armed neighbours or enemies; but by ill ones as a support of decayed authority, or as they lose the force of that which is natural and paternal, and so grow to set up an interest of those that govern, different from that of those that are governed, which ought ever to be the same.

Yet

Yet this seems a much weaker principle of government than the other; for the number of soldiers can never be great, in proportion to that of people, no more than the number of those that are idle in a country, to that of those who live by labour or industry: so as if the people come to unite by any strong passion, or general interest, or under the wise conduct of any authority well rooted in their minds, they are masters of armies. Besides, the humour of the people runs insensibly among the very soldiers, so as it seems much alike to keep off by guards a general infection, or an universal sedition: for the distemper in both kinds is contagious, and seizes upon the defenders themselves. Besides, common pay is a faint principle of courage and action, in comparison of religion, liberty, honour, revenge, or necessity; which make every soldier have the quarrel as much at heart as their leaders, and seem to have spirited all the great actions and revolutions of the world. And lastly, without the force of authority, this power of soldiers grows pernicious to their master, who becomes their servant, and is in danger of their mutinies, as much as any government can be of the seditions of a people.

If the father of our family govern it with prudence, goodness, and success; and his eldest son appear heir to the virtues and worth of his father: he succeeds in the government by a natural right, and by the strength of an authority both derived from his father, and acquired by his own personal qualities; but if either the eldest son, by qualities degenerate and ill, happen to lose all trust and opinion (and thereby authority) in the family; or else to die before his time, and leave a child in his room; when the father comes to fail, then the children fall into counsels of election, and either prefer the eldest of the sons then living, or perhaps one later, and so remoter in birth, according as he may have acquired authority by those qualities which natu-

rally produce it, and promise the best conduct and protection to the common affairs of the family.

Where the father comes to lose his authority, many of the elder, or wiser, of the sons increase in theirs by the same degree; and when both these arrive at a certain height, the nature of the government is ready for a change; and upon the father's death, or general defection of the family, they succeed in his authority, whilst the humour of the whole body runs against the succession or election of any single person, which they are grown weary of by so late an example; and thus comes in what they call an *Aristocracy*. But authority contracting itself (as it seems natural to do till it ends in a point or single person) this government falls sometimes into the hands of a few, who establish it in their families; and that is called an *Oligarchy*. If the authority come to be lost in either of these forms, while the children of the family grow into the manners and qualities, and perhaps into the condition and poverty of servants; and while many of the servants, by industry and virtue, arrive at riches and esteem, then the nature of the government inclines to a *Democracy*, or popular State, which is nearest confusion, or *Anarchy*; and often runs into it, unless upheld or directed by the authority of one, or of some few in the State; though perhaps without titles, or marks of any extraordinary office or dignity.

Governments, founded upon contract, may have succeeded those founded upon authority: but the first of them should rather seem to have been agreed between Princes and subjects, than between men of equal rank and power. For the original of subjection was, I suppose, when one nation warring against another (for things necessary to life, or for women, or for extent of land) overcame their enemies;

if they only won a battle, and put their enemies to flight, those they took prisoners became their slaves, and continued so in their generations, unless enfranchised by their masters: but if, by great slaughter, or frequent victories, they subdued the very courages of their enemies, while great numbers of them remained alive; then the vanquished nation became subject to the conquerors by agreement, and upon certain conditions of safety and protection; and perhaps equal enjoyment of liberties and customs, with the common natives under the other government: if by such frequent successes and additions, a nation extended itself over vast tracts of land and numbers of people, it thereby arrived in time at the ancient name of kingdom, or modern of empire.

After such a victory, the chiefest of the conquering nations become rich and great upon the divisions of lands, of spoils, and of slaves: by all which they grow into power, are Lords in their own lands, and over those that inhabit them, with certain rights or jurisdictions, and upon certain homages reserved to the Prince. The custom of employing these great persons in all great offices and councils, grows to pass for a right; as all custom does with length and force of time.

The Prince that governs according to the conditions of subjection at first agreed upon (of which use is the authentic record) and according to the ancient customs, which are the original laws (and by which the right of succession in the Crown, as well as private inheritance and common justice, is directed and established) is called a lawful sovereign: he that breaks and violates these ancient constitutions (especially that of succession) is termed an usurper.

A free nation is that which has never been conquered, or thereby entered into any conditions of subjection; as the *Romans* were, before they were subdued
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by the *Goths* and *Vandals*; and as the *Turks* seem to be at this time; who, having been called from *Scythia* to assist the *Grecian* empire against that of the *Saracens*, made themselves masters of both.

In countries safer from foreign invasions either by seas or rivers, by mountains and passes, or great tracts of rough, barren, and uninhabited lands, people lived generally in scattered dwellings, or small villages: but, where invasion is easy, and passage open, and bordering nations are great and valiant; men croud together, and seek their safety from numbers better united, and from walls and other fortifications, the use whereof is to make the few a match for the many, so as they may fight or treat on equal terms. And this is the original of cities; but the greatness and riches of them increase according to the commodiousness of their situation, in fertile countries, or upon rivers and havens, which surpass the greatest fertility of any soil, in furnishing plenty of all things necessary to life or luxury.

When families meet together, surround themselves by walls, fall into order and laws (either invented by the wisdom of some one, or some few men; and from the evidence of their public utility received by all, or else introduced by experience and time) and these cities preserve themselves in the enjoyment of their possessions, and observance of their institutions, against all invasions; and never are forced to submit to the will of any conqueror, or condition of any absolute subjection, they are called free cities; and of such there were many of old, in *Greece* and *Sicily*, deducing their original from some one founder or lawgiver: and are many now in *Germany* subject to no laws but their own, and those of the empire, which is an union of many sovereign powers, by whose general consent in their diets, all its constitutions are framed and established.

Commonwealths

Commonwealths were nothing more in their original, but free cities, though sometimes by force of orders and discipline, or of a numerous and valiant people, they have extended themselves into mighty dominions: and often, by situation and trade, grow to vast riches, and thereby to great power, by force of mercenary arms. And these seem to be more artificial, as those of a single person the more natural governments; being forced to supply the want of authority by wise inventions, orders, and institutions.

For authority can never be so great in many as in one, because the opinion of those qualities, which acquire it, cannot be equal in several persons.

These governments seem to be introduced, either by the wisdom and moderation of some one lawgiver, who has authority enough with the people, to be followed and observed in all his orders and advices; and yet prefer that which he esteems public utility, before any interest or greatness of his own, (such were *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*, and *Solon* in *Athens*, and *Timoleon* in *Syracuse*): or else by the confluence of many families out of some countries exposed to some fierce or barbarous invasions, into places fortified by nature, and secure from the fury and misery of such conquests. Such were *Rhodes* of old, and several small islands upon the coasts of *Ionia*; and such was *Venice*, founded upon the inundation of the barbarous nations over *Italy*: or lastly, by the suppression and extinction of some tyranny, which, being thrown off by the violent indignation of an oppressed people, makes way for a popular government, or at least some form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and detested: such were *Rome* upon the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, and the *United-Provinces* upon their revolt from *Spain*. Yet are none of these forms to be raised or upheld without the influence of authority, acquired by the force of opinion of those virtues above mentioned, which concurred

concurrent in *Brutus* among the *Romans*, and in Prince *William* of *Orange* among those of the *Netherlands*.

I will not enter into the arguments or comparisons of the several forms of government that have been, or are in the world; wherein that cause seems commonly the better, that has the better advocate, or is advantaged by fresher experience, and impressions of good or evil, from any of the forms among those that judge: they have all their heights and their falls, their strong and weak sides; are capable of great perfecti-
ons, and subject to great corruptions; and though the preference seem already decided in what has been said of a single person being the original and natural government; and that it is capable of the greatest authority (which is the foundation of all ease, safety, and order in the governments of the world) yet it may perhaps be the most reasonably concluded, that those forms are best, which have been longest received and authorized in a nation by custom and use; and into which the humours and manners of the people run with the most general and strongest current.

Or else, that those are the the best governments, where the best men govern; and that the difference is not so great in the forms of magistracy, as in the persons of magistrates; which may be the sense of what was said of old (taking wise and good men to be meant by philosophers) that the best governments were those, where Kings were philosophers, or philosophers Kings.

THE safety and firmness of any frame of government may be best judged by the rules of *Architecture*, which teach us that the *Pyramid* is of all figures the firmest, and least subject to be shaken or overthrown by any concussions or accidents from the earth or air; and it grows still so much the firmer,

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by how much broader the bottom and sharper the top.

The ground, upon which all government stands, is the consent of the people, or the greatest or strongest part of them; whether this proceed from reflexions upon what is past, by the reverence of an authority under which they and their ancestors have for many ages been born and bred; or from a sense of what is present, by the ease, plenty, and safety they enjoy; or from opinions of what is to come, by the fear they have from the present government, or hopes from another. Now that government which by any of these, or all these ways, takes in the consent of the greatest number of the people, and consequently their desires and resolutions to support it, may justly be said to have the broadest bottom, and to stand upon the largest compass of ground; and, if it terminate in the authority of one single person, it may likewise be said to have the narrowest top, and so to make the figure of the firmest sort of *Pyramid*.

On the contrary, a government which by alienating the affections, losing the opinions, and crossing the interests of the people, leaves out of its compass the greatest part of their consent, may justly be said, in the same degrees it thus loses ground, to narrow its bottom; and if this be done to serve the ambition, humour the passion, satisfy the appetites, or advance the power and interests not only of one man, but of two, or more, or many that come to share in the government: by this means the top may be justly said to grow broader; as the bottom narrower by the other. Now by the same degrees that either of these happen, the stability of the figure is by the same lessened and impaired; so as at certain degrees it begins to grow subject to accidents of wind and weather; and at certain others, it is sure to fall of itself, or by the least shake that happens, to the ground.

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By these measures it will appear, that a monarchy where the Prince governs by the affections, and according to the opinions and interests of his people, or the bulk of them (that is, by many degrees the greatest or strongest part of them) makes of all others the safest and firmest government: and on the contrary, a popular State which is not founded in the general humours and interest of the people, but only of the persons who share in the government, or depend upon it, is of all others the most uncertain, unstable, and subject to the most frequent and easy changes.

That a monarchy the less it takes in of the people's opinions and interests, and the more it takes in of the passions and interest of particular men (besides those of the Prince, and contrary to those of the people) the more unstable it grows, and the more endangered by every storm in the air, or every shake of the earth: and a commonwealth, the more it takes in of the general humour and bent of the people, and the more it spires up to a head by the authority of some one person founded upon the love and esteem of the people; the firmer it stands, and less subject to danger or change by any concussions of earth or of air.

'Tis true that a *Pyramid* reversed may stand for a while upon its point, if balanced by admirable skill, and held up by perpetual care, and there be a calm in the air about it: nay, if the point be very hard and strong, and the soil very yielding and soft; it may pierce into the ground with time, so as to grow the firmer the longer it stands: but this last can never happen if either the top of the figure be weak or soft, or if the soil be hard and rough; and at the best it is subject to be overthrown; if not by its own weight, yet whenever any foreign weight shall chance to fall upon any part of it; and the first must overturn whenever there happens any inequality in the balance, or any negligence in the hands that set it up; and even
without

without either of those, whenever there arises any violence to shake it, either from the winds abroad, or those in the bowels of the earth where it stands.

I will not pretend from this scheme to presage, or judge of the future events that may attend any governments; which is the business of those that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other design than that alone of discovering and clearing truth: but I think any man may deduce from it the causes of the several revolutions we may find upon record to have happened in the governments of the world. Except such as have been brought about by the irresistible force and conquests of some nations over others whom they very much surmounted in strength, courage, and numbers: yet the brave, long, and almost incredible defences that have still been made by those governments, which were rooted in the general affections, esteem, and interests of the nation; make it seem probable that almost all the conquests we read of have been made way for, or in some measure facilitated, if not assisted, by the weakness of the conquered government, grown from the disesteem, dissatisfaction, or indifference of the people; or from those vicious and effeminate constitutions of body and mind among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt air of a weak or loose, a vicious or a factious state: and such can never be strong in the hearts of the people; nor consequently firm upon that which is the true bottom of all governments in the world.

Thus the small *Athenian* state resisted with success the vast power and forces of the *Persians* in the time of *Miltiades* and *Themistocles*: Rome those of the *Gauls* in the time of *Camillus*; and the vast armies collected from *Afric*, *Spain*, and the greatest part of *Italy*, in the *Carthaginian* wars (under the conduct of several great Captains; but chiefly *Fabius* and *Scipio*;) the little principality of *Epire* was invincible by the whole

power of the *Turks* in three several invasions under their Prince *Castriot* (commonly called *Scanderbeg*;) the kingdom of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, by all the wars of the *Moors* or *Saracens* for many ages: the State of *Venice*, by those of the *Turks*: the *Switzers*, by the power of the Emperors; and the *Hollanders* by that of *Spain*: because in all these wars the people were both united and spirited by the common love of their country, their liberty or religion; or by the more particular esteem and love of their Princes and leaders.

In the conquest of the *Lydians* by *Cyrus*, and the *Perians* by *Alexander*; of the great *Asian* and *Ægyptian* Kings by the *Roman* State; and of all the *Roman* provinces by the several *Northern* (or, as they were usually called barbarous) nations; of the *Spaniards* by the *Moors*; the *Gauls* by the *Franks*; and of our ancient *Britons* by the *Saxons*: it is easy and obvious to observe that the resistances were rendered faint and weak; either by the soft and effeminate dispositions of the people grown up under the easiness, or examples of vicious or luxurious Princes whom they neither honour nor willingly obey: or else by the common hatred and disdain of their present servitude, which they were content to change for any other that came in their way: or lastly, by the distracted factions of a discontented nation, who agreed in no one common design or defence; nor under any authority grounded upon the general love, or esteem of the people.

Of instability and changes of government arrived by narrowing their bottoms, which are the consent and concurrence of the people's affections and interests, all stories and ages afford continual example. From hence proceeded the frequent tumults, seditions and alterations in the commonwealths of *Athens* and *Rome*, as often as either by the charms of orators, or the sway of men grown to unusual power and riches, the governments were engaged in counsels or actions contra-

ry to the general interests of the people. Hence the several violent changes that have arrived in the races or persons of the Princes of *England*, *France*, or *Spain*: nor has the force hereof appeared any where more visible than in *France*, during the reign of *Henry III.* and a constant succession of minions (as they were then called) where all was conducted by the private passions, humours, and interests of a few persons in sole confidence with the King, contrary to those more public and current of the people; till he came to lose at first all esteem, and afterwards obedience, and, at last, his life in the troubles given him by the league.

That government was in the same manner exposed to the dominion of succeeding favourites, during the regency of the Queen-mother, in the minority of *Lewis XIII.* which occasioned perpetual commotions in that State, and changes of the ministry; and would certainly have produced those in the government too, if *Richlieu*, having gained the absolute ascendant in that Court, had not engaged in the designs, at first, of a war upon the *Hugonots*, and, after that was ended, upon *Spain*; in both which he fell in with the current humour and dispositions of the people; which, with the prosperous successes of both those enterprises, helped to bear up him and the government, against all the hatred and continual practices of the great ones in the kingdom.

But the two freshest examples may be drawn from the revolutions of *England* in the year sixty, and of *Holland* in seventy two. In the first, the usurped powers, that had either designed no root, or at least drawn none but only in the affections and interests of those that were engaged with the government; thought themselves secure in the strength of an unfoiled army of above sixty thousand men, and in a revenue proportionable, raised by the awe of their forces, though with the mock-forms of legal supplies by pretended

tended Parliaments: yet we saw them forced to give way to the bent and current humour of the people, in favour of their ancient and lawful government; and this mighty army, of a sudden, lose their heart and their strength, abandon what they had so long called their cause and their interest, and content themselves to be moulded again into the mass of the people; and, by conspiring with the general humour of the nation, make way for the King's glorious restoration without a drop of blood drawn in the end of a quarrel, the beginning and course whereof had been so fatal to the kingdom.

For the other in *Holland*, the constitution of their government had continued twenty years in the hands of their popular magistrates, after the exclusion or intermission of the authority of the house of *Orange*, upon the death of the last Prince, and infancy of this. The chief direction of their affairs had for eighteen years lain constantly in the hands of their Pensioner *De Wit*, a Minister of the greatest authority and sufficiency, the greatest application and industry that was ever known in their State. In the course of his ministry, he and his party had reduced not only all the civil charges of the government in his Province, but in a manner all the military commands in the army, out of the hands of persons affectionate to the house of *Orange*, into those esteemed sure and fast to the interests of their more popular State. And all this had been attended, for so long a course of years, with the perpetual success of their affairs, by the growth of their trade, riches, and power at home, and the consideration of their neighbours abroad: yet the general humour of kindness in the people to their own form of government, under the Princes of *Orange*, grew up with the age and virtues of the young Prince, so as to raise the prospect of some unavoidable revolutions among them, for several years before it arrived.

And

And we have seen it grow to that height in this present year, upon the Prince's coming to the two and twentieth of his age (the time assigned him by their constitutions, for his entering upon the public charges of their *milice*) that, though it had found them in peace, it must have occasioned some violent sedition in their State: but, meeting with the conjuncture of a foreign invasion, it broke out into so furious a rage of the people, and such general tumults through the whole country, as ended in the blood of their chief ministers; in the displacing all that were suspected to be of their party throughout the government; in the full restitution of the Prince's authority, to the highest point any of his ancestors ever enjoyed: but withal, in such a distraction of their councils, and their actions, as made way for the easy successes of the *French* invasion; for the loss of almost five of their Provinces in two months time, and for the general presages of utter ruin to their State.

AN

W. M. S. C. E. L. A. N. E. N.

Dublin, July 22, 1673.

My Lord,

Know not what it was that fell into discourse the

other day, and gave your Excellency the occasion of desiring me to digest into some method,

your Lordship in this point; how ill soever I do it, than excuse myself, though never so well, which were much easier than the other. For I might alledge, that neither my birth nor my breeding has been at all in this country: that I have passed only one short period of my life here, and the greatest part thereof wholly out of business and public thoughts: that I have since been ten years absent from it, and am now here upon no other occasion than of a short visit to some of my friends; which are all circumstances that make me a very improper subject for such a command. But I suppose the vein I have had of running into speculations of this kind upon a greater scene of trade, and in a country where I was more a stranger; and the too partial favour your Lordship has expressed to another discourse of this nature, have cost me this present service; and you have thought fit to punish me for one folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the confessor, that prescribed a drunkard the penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordship shall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excused; which is all I pretend to upon this occasion.

Before I enter upon the considerations of trade, which are more general, and may be more lasting in this kingdom, I will observe to your Lordship some particular circumstances in the constitution and government, which have been hitherto, and may be long, the great discouragers of trade and riches here, and some others in the present conjuncture, which are absolutely mortal to it; and so you may not expect to find remedies where indeed there are none, nor suffer men, like busy ignorant physicians, to apply such as are contrary to the disease, because they cannot find such as are proper for it.

The true and natural ground of trade and riches is number of people, in proportion to the compass of ground they inhabit. This makes all things necessary
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to life dear, and that forces men to industry and parsimony. These customs, which grow first from necessity, come with time to be habitual in a country. And where ever they are so, that place must grow great in traffic and riches, if not disturbed by some accidents or revolutions, as of wars, of plagues, or famines, by which the people come to be either scattered or destroyed.

People are multiplied in a country by the temper of the climate, favourable to generation, to health, and long life. Or else by the circumstances of safety and ease under the government, the credit whereof invites men over to it, when they cannot be either safe or easy at home. When things are once in motion, trade begets trade, as fire does fire; and people go much where much people are already gone. So men run still to a crowd where they see it in the streets, or the fields, though it be only to do as others do, to see or to be entertained.

The want of trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the want of people; and this is not grown from any ill qualities of the climate or air, but chiefly from the frequent revolutions of so many wars and rebellions, so great slaughters and calamities of mankind as have at several intervals of time succeeded the first conquest of this kingdom in *Henry the II's* time, until the year 1653. Two very great plagues followed the two great wars, those of *Queen Elizabeth's* reign, and the last; which helped to drain the current stream of generation in the country.

The discredit which is grown upon the constitutions or settlements of this kingdom, by so frequent and unhappy revolutions that for many ages have invested it, has been the great discouragement to other nations to transplant themselves hither, and prevailed further than all the invitations which the cheapness and plenty of the country has made them. So that, had it not
been

been for the numbers of the *British*, which the necessity of the late wars at first drew over, and of such who either as adventurers or soldiers seated themselves here upon account of the satisfaction made to them in land, the country had by the last war and plague been left in a manner desolate.

Besides, the subordination of the government, changing hands so often, makes an unsteadiness in the pursuit of the public interests of the kingdom, gives way to the emulations of the different factions, and draws the favour or countenance of the government sometimes to one party or interest, sometimes to another: this makes different motions in men's minds, raising hopes and fears, and opinions of uncertainty in their possessions; and thereby in the peace of the country.

This subordination in the government, and emulation of parties, with the want sometimes of authority in the governor (by the weakness of his credit and support at Court) occasions the perpetual agencies or journies into *England* of all persons that have any considerable pretences in *Ireland*, and money to pursue them; which end many times in long abodes, and frequent habituating of families there, though they have no money to support them, but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Besides, the young gentlemen go of course for their breeding there; some seek their health, and others their entertainment in a better climate or scene: by these means the country loses the expence of many of the richest persons or families at home, and mighty sums of money must needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great stock of rich native commodities here can make the only amends for.

These circumstances, so prejudicial to the increase of trade and riches in a country, seem natural, or at least have ever been incident to the government here; and without them, the native fertility of the soil and seas in so many rich commodities improved by multitude of

people and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens, and a situation so commodious for all sorts of foreign trade, must needs have rendered this kingdom one of the richest in *Europe*, and made a mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the Crown of *England*; whereas it has hitherto been rather esteemed and found to be our weak-side, and to have cost us more blood and treasure than it is worth.

Since my late arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unusual, but, I doubt, very just complaint concerning the scarcity of money; which occasioned many airy propositions for the remedy of it, and among the rest that of raising some, or all of the coins here. This was chiefly grounded upon the experience made, as they say, about the Duke of *Ormond's* coming first over hither in 1663, when the plate-pieces of eight were raised three pence in the piece, and a mighty plenty of money was observed to grow in *Ireland* for a year or two after. But this seems to me a very mistaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumstances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raising of the money to which it is by some great men attributed. For first, there was about that time a general peace and serenity, which had newly succeeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all his Majesty's kingdoms; then after two years attendance in *England*, upon the settlement of *Ireland* (there on the forge) by all persons and parties here that were considerably interested in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main settlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormond's* hands to pass here into an act; all persons came over in a shoal, either to attend their own concerns in the main, or more particularly to make their court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom his Majesty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and disposition of all affairs in this kingdom. This made a sudden

sudden and mighty stop of that issue of money which had for two years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of *Ormond*'s own great patrimonial estate, with that of several other families that came over at that time, of small consideration in the stock of this kingdom. Besides, there was a great sum of money in ready coin brought over out of *England* at the same time, towards the arrears of the army; which are all circumstances that must needs have made a mighty change in the course of ready money here. All the effect, that I conceive was made by crying up the pieces of eight, was to bring in much more of that species instead of others current here (as indeed all the money brought from *England* was of that sort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worse alloy) and to carry away much *English* money in exchange for plate-pieces; by which a trade was driven very beneficial to the traders, but of mighty loss to the kingdom in the intrinsic value of their money.

The circumstances at this time seem to be just the reverse of what they were then: the nation's engaged in a war the most fatal to trade of any that could arise: the settlement of *Ireland* shaken at the Court, and falling into new disquisitions (whether in truth, or in common opinion, is all a case :) this draws continual agencies and journies of people concerned into *England*, to watch the motions of the main wheel there. Besides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland*, since the Duke of *Ormond*'s time, have had little in their disposition here, and only executed the resolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general affairs; which has drawn thither the attendance of all private pretenders. The great estates of this kingdom have been four or five years constantly spent in *England*: Money, instead of coming over hither for pay of the army, has, since the war began, been transmitted thither for pay of

of those forces that were called from hence. And lastly, this war has had a more particular and mortal influence upon the trade of this country, than upon any other of his Majesty's kingdoms.

For by the act against transportation of cattle into *England*, the trade of this country, which ran wholly thither before, was turned very much into foreign parts; but by this war the last is stopped, and, the other not being opened, there is in a manner no vent for any commodity but of wool. This necessity has forced the kingdom to go on still with their foreign trade; but that has been with such mighty losses by the great number of *Dutch* privateers plying about the coasts, and the want of *English* frigates to secure them, that the stock of the kingdom must be extremely diminished. Yet, by the continuance of the same expence and luxury in point of living, money goes over into *England* to fetch what must supply it, though little commodities go, either there or abroad, to make any considerable balance: by all which it must happen, that with another years continuance of the war, there will hardly be money left in this kingdom to turn the common markets, or pay any rents, or leave any circulation, further than the receipts of the customs and quit-rents, and the pays of the army, which in both kinds must be the last that fail.

In such a conjuncture, the crying up of any species of money will but increase the want of it in general; for while there goes not out commodity to balance that which is brought in, and no degree of gains by exportation will make amends for the venture; what should money come in for, unless it be to carry out other money as it did before, and leave the stock that remains equal indeed in denomination, but lower in the intrinsic value than it was before? In short, while this war lasts, and our seas are ill-guarded, all that can be done towards preserving the small remainder of

money

money in this kingdom is, first, to introduce, as far as can be, a vein of parsimony throughout the country in all things that are not perfectly the native growths and manufactures: then by severity and steadiness of the government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in some credit the present peace and settlement: and lastly, to force men to a degree of industry, by suffering none to hope that they shall be able to live by rapine or fraud. For, in some diseases of a civil as well as a natural body, all that can be done is to fast and to rest, to watch and to prevent accidents, to trust to methods rather than medicines or remedies; and with patience to expect till the humours being spent, and the *crisis* past, way may be made for the natural returns of health and of strength.

This being premised as peculiar either to the government in general, or to the present conjuncture; I shall proceed to such observations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and standing trade of this kingdom.

The trade of a country arises from the native growths of the soil or seas; the manufactures, the commodiousness of ports, and the store of shipping that belong to it. The improvement therefore of trade in *Ireland* must be considered in the survey of all these particulars, the defects to which at present they are subject, and the increases they are capable of receiving either from the course of time, the change of customs, or the conduct and application of the government.

The native commodities or common easy manufactures which make up the exportation of this kingdom, and consequently furnish both the stock of foreign commodities consumed in the country, and that likewise of current money, by which all trade is turned, are wool, butter, beef, cattle, fish, iron; and by the improvement of these, either in the quantity, the credit,

credit, or the further manufacture, the trade of *Ireland* seems chiefly to be advanced.

In this survey one thing must be taken notice of as peculiar to this country, which is, that, as in the nature of its government, so, in the very improvement of its trade and riches, it ought to be considered not only in its own proper interest, but likewise in its relation to *England*, to which it is subordinate, and upon whose weal in the main that of this kingdom depends; and therefore a regard must be had of those points wherein the trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main branches of the trade of *England*; in which cases the encouragement of such trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and so give way to the interest of trade in *England*, upon the health and vigour whereof the strength, riches, and glory of his Majesty's crowns seem chiefly to depend. But, on the other side, some such branches of trade ought not wholly to be suppressed, but rather so far admitted as may serve the general consumption of this kingdom; lest by too great an importation of commodities, though out of *England* itself, the money of this kingdom happen to be drawn away in such a degree, as not to leave a stock sufficient for turning the trade at home: the effect hereof would be general discontents among the people, complaints, or at least ill impressions of the government; which in a country composed of three several nations different to a great degree in language, customs, and religion, as well as interests (both of property and dependences) may prove not only dangerous to this kingdom, but to *England* itself. Since a sore in the leg may affect the body, and in time grow as difficult to cure as if it were in the head; especially where humours abound,

The wool of *Ireland* seems not to be capable of any increase, nor to suffer under any defect, the country being generally full stocked with sheep, cleared of
wolves,

wolves, the soil little subject to other rots than of hunger; and all the considerable flocks being of *English* breed, and the staple of wool generally equal with that of *Northampton* or *Leicestershire*, the improvement of this commodity by manufactures in this kingdom would give so great a damp to the trade of *England* (of which cloths, stuffs, and stockings make so mighty a part) that it seems not fit to be encouraged here; at least no further than to such a quantity of one or two summer-stuffs, *Irish* freeze, and cloth from six shillings to fourteen, as may supply, in some measure, the ordinary consumption of the kingdom. That which seems most necessary in this branch, is the careful and severe execution of the statutes, provided to forbid the exportation of wool to any other parts but to *England*; which is the more to be watched and feared, since thereby the present riches of this kingdom would be mightily increased, and great advantages might be made by the connivance of governors; whereas, on the other side, this would prove a most sensible decay, if not destruction of manufactures both here and in *England* itself.

Yarn is a commodity very proper to this country, but made in no great quantities in any parts besides the north, nor any where into linen to any great degree; or of sorts fit for the better uses at home, or exportation abroad; though, of all others, this ought most to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly designed by the Earl of *Strafford*. The soil produces flax kindly and well, and fine too, answerable to the care used in choice of seed and exercise of husbandry; and much land is fit for it here, which is not so for corn. The manufacture of it, in gathering or beating, is of little toil or application, and so the fitter for the natives of the country. Besides, no women are apter to spin it well than the *Irish*, who labouring little in any kind with their hands, have their fingers more supple and soft

soft than other women of the poorer condition among us; and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great manufacture of linen, so as to beat down the trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the money, which goes from *England* to those parts upon this occasion, into the hands of his Majesty's subjects of *Ireland*, without crossing any interest of trade in *England*. For, besides what has been said of flax and spinning, the soil and climate are proper for whitening, both by the frequency of brooks, and also of winds in the country.

Much care was spent upon this design in an act of Parliament passed the last session, and something may have been advanced by it; but the too great rigour imposed upon the sowing of certain quantities of flax, has caused (and perhaps justly) a general neglect in the execution, and common guilt has made the penalties impracticable; so as the main effect has been spoiled by too much diligence, and the child killed with kindness. For the money applied by that act to the encouragement of making fine linen, and broad, (which I think is twenty pounds every year in each county) though the institution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any considerable application that way; so that sometimes one share of that money is paid to a single pretender at the sizes or sessions, and sometimes a share is saved, for want of any pretender at all.

This trade may be advanced by some amendments to the last act in another session, whereby the necessity of sowing flax may be so limited, as to be made easily practicable, and so may be forced by the severity of levying the penalties enacted. And for the money allotted in the counties, no person ought to carry the first, second, or third prize, without producing two pieces of linen of each sort, whereas one only now is necessary: and severe defences may be made against

gainst weaving any linen under a certain breadth, such as may be of better use to the poorest people, and in the coarsest linen, than the narrow *Irish* cloth, and may bear some price abroad, whenever more comes to be made than is consumed at home. But, after all these, or such like provisions, there are but two things which can make any extraordinary advance in this branch of trade, and those are: first, an increase of people in the country to such a degree, as may make things necessary to life dear, and thereby force general industry from each member of a family (women as well as men) and in as many sorts as they can well turn to, which, among others, may in time come to turn the vein this way. The second is a particular application in the government. And this must be made either by some governor upon his own private account, who has a great stock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the gain, or else by the honour of bringing to pass a work of so much public utility both to *England* and *Ireland*, which circumstances I suppose concurred both in the Earl of *Strafford's* design; and, whenever they meet again, can have no better copy to follow in all particulars, than that begun at the *Naas* in his time. Or else by a considerable sum of money being laid aside, either out of his Majesty's present revenue, or some future subsidy to be granted for this occasion: and this either to be employed in setting up of some great linen manufacture in some certain place, and to be managed by some certain hands both for making all sorts of fine cloths, and of those for sails too: the benefit or loss of such a trade accruing to the government, until it comes to take root in the nation. Or else if this seem too great an undertaking for the humour of our age, then such a sum of money to lie ready in hands appointed by the government, for taking off at common moderate prices all such pieces of cloth as shall be brought in by any persons at cer-

tain times to the chief town of each county; and all such pieces of cloth, as are fit for sails, to be carried into the stores of the navy. All, that are fit for the use of the army, to be given the soldiers (as cloaths are) in part of their pay: and all finer pieces to be sold, and the money still applied to the increase or constant supply of the main stock. The effect hereof would be, that people finding a certain market for this commodity, and that of others, so uncertain as it is in this kingdom, would turn so much of their industry this way as would serve to furnish a great part of that money which is most absolutely necessary for payment of taxes, rents, or subsistence of families.

Hide, tallow, butter, beef, arise all from one sort of cattle, and are subject to the same general defects, and capable of the same common improvements.

The three first are certain commodities, and yield the readiest money of any that are turned in this kingdom, because they never fail of a price abroad. Beef is a drug, finding no constant vent abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at home: for the consumption of the kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is usually made of cattle in it; so that, in many parts at this time an ox may be bought in the country-markets, and the hide and tallow sold at the next trading town for near as much as it cost. The defects of these commodities lie either in the age and feeding of the cattle that are killed, or in the manufacture, and making them up for exportation abroad.

Until the transportation of cattle into *England* was forbidden by the late act of Parliament, the quickest trade of ready money here was driven by the sale of young bullocks, which for four or five summer-months of the year were carried over in very great numbers, and this made all the breeders in the kingdom turn their lands and stocks chiefly to that sort of cattle.

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Few cowes were bred up for the dairy, more than served the consumption within; and few oxen for draught, which was all performed by rascally small horses; so as the cattle generally sold either for slaughter within, or exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at best four years old, and those such as had never been either handled or wintered at hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the mountains in summer, and upon the withered long grafs of the lower lands in the winter. The effect hereof was very pernicious to this kingdom in what concerned all these commodities; the hides were small, thin, and lank; the tallow much less in quantity, and of quicker consumption. Little butter was exported abroad, and that discredited by the housewifery of the *Irish*, in making it up; most of what was sent coming from their hands, who alone kept up the trade of dairies, because the breed of their cattle was not fit for the *English* markets. But above all, the trade of beef for foreign exportation was prejudiced and almost sunk. For the flesh being young, and only grafs-fed (and that on a sudden by the sweetness of the summer's pasture, after the cattle being almost starved in the winter) was thin, light, and moist, and not of a substance to endure the salt, or be preserved by it for long voyages, or a slow consumption. Besides, either the unskilfulness, or carelessness, or knavery of the traders, added much to the undervalue and discredit of these commodities abroad; for the hides were often made up very dirty, which increased the weight, by which that commodity is sold when it comes in quantities abroad. The butter would be better on the top and bottom of the barrel, than in the middle, which would be sometimes filled up, or mingled with tallow; nay, sometimes with stones. The beef would be so ill chosen, or so ill cured, as to stink many times before it came so far as *Holland*, or at least not prove a commodity that would defray the first charge of the merchant

merchant before it was shipped. Nay, I have known merchants there fain to throw away great quantities, after having lain long on their hands, without any market at all.

After the act in *England* had wholly stoped the transportation of cattle, the trade of this kingdom was forced to find out a new channel; a great deal of land was turned to sheep, because wool gave ready money for the *English* markets, and by stealth for those abroad. The breeders of *English* cattle turned much to dairy, or else by keeping their cattle to six and seven years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the beef-trade abroad; and some of the merchants fell into care and exactness in barrelling them up; and hereby the improvements of this trade were grown so sensible in the course of a few years, that in the year 1669 some merchants in *Holland* assured me, that they had received parcels of beef out of *Ireland* which sold current, and very near the *English*; and of butter which sold beyond it; and that they had observed it spent as if it came from the richer soil of the two. It is most evident, that, if the *Dutch* war had not broken out so soon after the improvements of all these trades (forced at first by necessity, and growing afterwards habitual by use), a few years would have very much advanced the trade and riches of this kingdom, and made it a great gainer, instead of losing by the act against transportation of their cattle: but the war gave a sudden damp to this and all other trade, which is sunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However, having marked the defects that were even in time of peace, it may not be useless, to set down the remedies, though little practicable while the war lasts. For that great one of killing cattle young, and only grass-fed, I know none so effectual as introducing a general custom of using oxen for all sorts of draught, which would be perhaps the greatest improvement

ment that could be made in many kinds throughout the kingdom. By this means the great slaughter would be made of full-grown, large, and well-wintered cattle, which would double the income made by hide, tallow, and beef, and raise their credit in all foreign markets; every man would be forced to provide winter-fodder for his team (whereas common garrans shift upon grass the year round;) and this would force men to the inclosing of grounds, and improving bog into meadows; the race of garrans would decrease, and so make room for the countries maintaining the greater number of cattle, which makes a foreign commodity, though they die by accident or age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or useful thing is to be achieved without difficulties; and therefore what may be raised against this proposal, ought not to discourage the attempting it. First, the statutes against that barbarous custom of plowing by the tail ought to be renewed, and upon absolute forfeitures instead of penalties; the constant and easy compositions whereof have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this were wholly disused, the harness for horses being dearer than for oxen, the *Irish* would turn their draught to the last, where-ever they have hitherto used the plowing by the tail. Next, a standard might be made, under which no horse should be used for draught; this would not only enlarge the breed of horses, but make way for the use of oxen, because they would be cheaper kept than large good horses, which could not be wintered like garrans, without housing or fodder. And lastly, a tax might be laid upon every horse of draught throughout the kingdom; which, besides the main use here intended, would increase the King's revenue, by one of the easiest ways that is any where in use.

For the miscarriages mentioned in the making up of those several commodities for foreign markets, they must

must likewise be remedied by severe laws, or else the improvements of the commodities themselves will not serve to bring them in credit, upon which all trade turns. First, the ports, out of which such commodities shall be shipped, may be restrained to a certain number, such as lie most convenient for the vent of the inland provinces, and such as either are already, or are capable of being made regular corporations. Whatever of them shall be carried out of any other port shall be penal, both to the merchant that delivers, and to the master that receives them. In the ports allowed shall be published rules agreed on by the skillfullest merchants in those wares, to be observed in the making up of all such as are intended for foreign transportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to those rules shall not be suffered to go out. Two officers may be appointed to be chosen every three years, by the body of the corporation, whose business shall be to inspect all barrels of beef, tallow, butter, and all packs of hides, and put to them the seal or mark of the corporation, without which none shall be suffered to go abroad; nor shall this mark be affixed to any parcels by those officers but such as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the rules set forth for that purpose. Whereof one ought to be certain, that every barrel be of the same constant weight, or something over. If this were observed for a small course of time, under any certain marks, the credit of them, both as to quality and weight, would rise to that degree, that the barrels or packs would go off in the markets they used abroad, upon sight of the mark, like silver-plate upon sight of the city's mark where it is made.

The great difficulty will lie in the good execution of the offices; but the interest of such corporations, lying so deep in the credit of their mark, will make emulation among them, every one vying to raise their

own as high as they can ; and this will make them careful in the choise of men, fit for that turn. Besides, the offices ought to be made beneficial to a good degree, by a certain fee upon every seal ; and yet the office to be forfeited upon every miscarriage of the officer, which shall be judged so by the chief magistrates of the town, and thereupon a new election be made by the body of the corporation.

Cattle for exportation are sheep, bullocks, horses ; and of one or other of these kinds the country seems to be full stocked, no ground that I hear of being untenanted : the two first seem sufficiently improved in the kinds as well as the number, most of both being of the *English* breed. And though it were better for the country, if the number of horses being lessened made room for that of increasing sheep, and great cattle ; yet it seems indifferent which of these two were most turned to, and that will be regulated by the liberty or restraint of carrying live cattle into *England*. When the passage is open, land will be turned most to great cattle ; when shut, to sheep, as it is at present ; though I am not of opinion it can last, because that act seems to have been carried on rather by the interests of particular counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which in my opinion must be evidently a loser by it. For first, the freight of all cattle that were brought over, being in *English* vessels, was so much clear gain to *England* ; and this was one with another near a third, or at least a fourth part of the price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the first market made them double the price by one year's feeding, which was the greatest improvement to be made of our dry pasture-land in *England*. The trade of hides, and tallow, or else of leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down in foreign markets by *Ireland*, if they come to kill all their cattle at home. The young *Irish* cattle served

served for the common consumption in *England*, while their own large old fat cattle went into the barrel for the foreign trade, in which *Irish* beef had in a manner no part, though by the continuance of this restraint it will be forced upon improvement, and come to share with *England* in the beef-trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in *England* from breeding, either to feeding or dairy, and this advanced the trade of *English* butter, which will be extremely beaten down when *Ireland* turns to it too (and in the way of *English* housewifery, as it has done a great deal since the restraint upon cattle.) And lastly, whereas *Ireland* had before very little trade but with *England*, and with the money for their cattle bought all the commodities there which they wanted; by this restraint they are forced to seek a foreign market; and where they sell, they will be sure to buy too; and all the foreign merchandize which they had before from *Bristol*, *Chester*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amsterdam*, *Lisbon*, and the *Straits*. As for the true causes of the decay of rents in *England*, which made the occasion of that act, they were to be found in the want of people, in the mighty consumption of foreign commodities among the better sort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this transportation of *Irish* cattle, which would have been complained of in former times, if it had been found a prejudice to *England*. Besides, the rents have been far from increasing since; and though that may be by other accidents, yet, as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unless wool be forbidden as well as cattle; for the less cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more wool, which goes as far as the other towards beating down the price of pasture-lands in *England*; and yet the transportation of wool cannot be forbidden, since that would force the *Irish* wool, either by stealth into foreign markets, or else in cloth by the advance of
that

that manufacture; either of which would bring a sudden decay upon the principal branch of the *English* trade.

Horses in *Ireland* are a drug, but might be improved to a commodity, not only of a greater use at home; but also fit for exportation into other countries. The soil is of a sweet and a plentiful grass, which will raise a large breed; and the hills, especially near the sea-coasts, are hard and rough, and so fit to give them shape, and breath, and sound feet. The present defects in them are breeding without choice of stallions either in shape or size, and trusting so far to the gentleness of the climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling colts till they are four years old: this both checks the growth of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable shiness, which is the general vice of the *Irish* horses, and is hardly ever seen in *Flanders*, because the hardness of the winters in those parts forces the breeders there to house and handle their colts for at least six months every year. In the studs of persons of quality in *Ireland*, where care is taken, and cost is not spared, we see horses bred of excellent shape, and vigour, and size, so as to reach great prices at home, and encourage strangers to find the market here; among whom I met with one this summer that came over on that errand, and bought about twenty horses to carry over into the *French* army, from twenty to threescore pounds price at the first hand.

The improvement of horses here may be made by a standard prescribed to all stallions, and all horses that shall be used for draught; the main point being to make the common breed large, for then, whether they have shape or no, they have ever some reasonable price both at home and abroad. And besides, being not to be raised without wintering, they will help to force men into improvement of land by a necessity of fodder.

der. But for encouragement of finer breed, and in the better hands, some other institutions may be invented, by which emulation may be raised among the breeders by a prospect both of particular honour and profit to those who succeed best, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to such as by aiming at the best, tho' they fail, yet go beyond the common sorts. To this purpose there may be set up both a horse-fair, and races to be held at a certain time every year for the space of a week; the first in the fairest green near the city of *Dublin*, the latter in that place designed by your Lordship in the park for some such purpose. During this week, the *Monday*, *Wednesday*, and *Friday* may be the races: the *Tuesday*, *Thursday*, and *Saturday* the fairs may be held. At each race may be two plates given by the King, one of thirty pounds, and the other of twenty (besides the fashion) as the prizes for the first, and second horse; the first engraven with a horse crowned with a crown; the second with a coronet, and under it the day of the month, and the year. Besides these plates, the wagers may be as the persons please among themselves, but the horses must be evidenced by good testimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For honour, the Lord-Lieutenant may ever be present himself, or at least name a deputy, in his room, and two judges of the field, who shall decide all controversies, and with sound of the trumpet declare the two victors. The masters of these two horses may be admitted to ride from the field to the castle with the Lord-Lieutenant, or his deputy, and to dine with him that day, and there receive all the honour of the table. This to be done, what quality soever the persons are of; for, the lower that is, the more will be the honour, and perhaps the more the sport; and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all sorts of men.

For

For the fairs, the Lord-Lieutenant may likewise be present every day in the height of them, by himself or deputy, and may, with the advice of the two chief officers of the army then present, chuse out one of the best horses, and two of the best geldings that appear in the fair, not under four, nor above seven years old; for which shall be paid to the owners of them, after sufficient testimony of their being bred in *Ireland*, one hundred pounds for the horse, and fifty pounds a-piece for the geldings. These sums, as that for the plates, to issue out of the revenue of *Ireland*, and without trouble or fee; and the three horses to be sent over every year to the King's stables. Both those that win the plate, and those which are thus sold, ought immediately to be marked, so as they may never return a second time, either to the race, or to the sale.

The benefit, by such an institution as this, will be very great and various: for besides the encouragement to breed the best horses, from the honour and gain already mentioned, there will be a sort of public entertainment for one whole week, during which the Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord-Mayor of the city, and the great officers both civil and military, ought to keep open tables for all strangers. This will draw a confluence of people from all parts of the country. Many perhaps from the nearer parts of *England* may come, not only as to a public kind of solemnity; but as to a great mart of the best horses. This will enrich the city by the expence of such a concourse, and the country by the sale of many horses into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign parts. This will make general acquaintances among the gentry of the kingdom, and bring the Lord-Lieutenant to be more personally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more greatness, and with more solemnity than usual upon these occasions. And all this with the expence only
of

of two hundred and fifty pounds a-year to the Crown, for which the King shall have the three best horses sold that year in *Ireland*.

The fishing of *Ireland* might prove a mine under water, as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to those vast advantages it is capable of, and that we see it raised to in other countries. But this is impossible under so great a want of people, and cheapness of all things necessary to life throughout the country, which are in all places invincible enemies of industry and improvements. While these continue, I know no way of advancing this trade to any considerable degree, unless it be the erecting four companies of fishery, one of each province of *Ireland*, into which every man that enters shall bring a certain capital, and receive a proportionable share of the gain or loss, and have a proportional voice in the election of a president and council, by whom the whole business in each province shall be managed. If, into each of these companies, the King or Lord-Lieutenant would enter for a considerable share at the first, towards building such a number of boats and busses as each company could easily manage, it would be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain privileges likewise, or immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay, from taxes, and all unusual payments to the public, in favour of such as brought in a proportion to a certain height into the stock of the fishery. Nay, it seems a matter of so great importance to his Majesty's Crowns, both as to the improving the riches of this kingdom, and impairing the mighty gains of his neighbours by this trade, that perhaps there were no hurt if an act were made, by which none should be capable of being either chosen into a Parliament, or the commission of the peace, who had not manifested his desires of advancing the public good by entering in some certain proportion into the stock

and

and companies of the fishery; since the greatness of the one, and application of the other, seem the only present means of improving so rich and so important a trade. It will afterwards be the business of the companies themselves, or their directors, to fall into the best methods and rules for the curing and barrelling up all their fish, and to see them so exactly observed, as may bring all those quantities of them that shall be sent abroad, or spent at home, into the highest and most general credit, which, with advancing the seasons all that can be, so as to find the first foreign markets, will be a way to the greatest and surest gains. In *Holland*, there have been above thirty placarts, or acts of State, concerning the curing, salting and barrelling of herrings alone, with such severity in the imposition and execution of penalties, that the business is now grown to an habitual skill, and care, and honesty, so as hardly any example is seen of failing in that matter, or thereby impairing the general credit of that commodity among them, or in the foreign markets they use.

Iron seems to me the manufacture that, of all others, ought the least to be encouraged in *Ireland*; or if it be, which requires the most restriction to certain places and rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any ore in *Ireland*, at least I am sure the greatest part is fetched from *England*; so that all this country affords of its own growth towards this manufacture, is but the wood, which has met but with too great consumptions already in most parts of this kingdom, and needs not this to destroy what is left. So that iron-works ought to be confined to certain places, where either the woods continue vast, and make the country savage; or where they are not at all fit for timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no conveyance for timber to places of vent, so as to quit the cost of the carriage.

Having

Having run through the commodities of *Ireland*, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two points mentioned at first, as the grounds likewise of trade in a country; those are the commodiousness of ports, and the store of shipping; in one of which this kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The haven of *Dublin* is barred to that degree, as very much to obstruct the trade of the city; the clearing or opening of it is a great work, and proper either for the city, or the whole province of *Lemster* to undertake. But whether it be feasible, or at such charges as will quit cost, I will not judge, especially considering the many good havens that are scattered upon that whole eastern coast of *Ireland*. Besides this, I know not what to propose upon this head, unless it be the making of two free ports, one in *Kerry*, and the other upon the north-west coast, which may thereby grow to be magazines for the *West-India* trade, and from thence those commodities may be dispersed unto all other parts of *Europe*, after having paid the customs which they ought to pay in *England*, where this must be concerted.

For the last point, I doubt there is hardly any other country lying upon the sea-coast, and not wholly out of the way of trade, which has so little shipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which might be capable of employing more. The reason of this must be in part the scarcity of timber proper for this built; but more the want of merchants, and uncertainty of trade in the country. For preventing the further destruction of timber, a law may be made, forbidding any man to cut down any oak that is of a certain height, unless it be of a certain scantling, as twelve inches diameter, or some such measures as usually make a tree useful timber. And further, the severest penalties ought to be put upon barking any tree that is not felled; a custom barbarous, and peculiar to this country, and by which
infinite

infinite quantities of timber have been destroyed.

Most traders in these parts, at least of *Ireland*, are but factors; nor do I hear of any number of merchants in the kingdom. The cause of this must be rather an ill opinion of security than of gain; for those are the two baits which draw merchants to a place; the last intices the poorer traders, or the young beginners, or those of passage; but, without the first, the substantial and the rich will never settle in a country. This opinion can be attained only by a course of time, of good conduct, and good government, and thereby of justice and of peace, which lie out of the compass of this discourse. But, to make some amends for this want at present, encouragement may be given to any merchants that shall come over and turn a certain stock of their own here, as naturalization upon any terms; freedom from customs the two first years, and from any offices of trouble or expence the first seven years. I see no hurt, if the King should give leave to the merchants in eight or ten of the chief trading-ports of *Ireland*, to name for each town one of their number, out of which the Lord-Lieutenant should chuse two to be of the Privy-council of *Ireland*, with a certain salary from the King to defray their attendance: this would be an honour and encouragement to so worthy a calling, and would introduce an interest of trade into the council, which being now composed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the civil or military officers; the traders seem to be left without patrons in the government, and thereby without favour to the particular concernments of a chief member in the politic body; and upon whose prospering the wealth of the whole kingdom seems chiefly to depend.

But this is enough for your Excellency's trouble, and for the discharge of my promise, and too much I doubt for the humour of our age to bring into practice, or so much as to admit into consideration. Your

Lordship

Lordship, I know, has generous thoughts, and turned to such speculations as these. But that is not enough towards the raising such buildings as I have drawn you here the lines of, unless the direction of all affairs here were wholly in your hands, or at least the opinion lost of other men's being able to contest with you those points of public utility, which you ought best to know, and most to be believed in, while you deserve or discharge so great a trust as the government of this kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much consider whom to chuse for such employments; but, when he has chosen, cannot trust them too far, or thereby give them too much authority; no more than end it too soon, whenever he finds it abused. In short, it is left only to Princes to mend the world, whose commands find general obedience, and examples imitation. For all other men, they must take it as they find it; and good men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being spoiled themselves, than upon hopes of mending the world. At least, this opinion becomes men of my level, amongst whom I have observed all set quarrels with the age, and pretences of reforming it by their own models, to end commonly like the pains of a man in a little boat, who tugs at a rope that is fast to a ship; it looks as if he resolved to draw the ship to him; but the truth and his meaning is, to draw himself to the ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the rest of the crew when he is there. When I have such designs, I will begin such contentions; in the mean time, the bent of my thoughts shall be rather to mend myself than the world, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor should I have reason in complaining too far of an age, which does your Lordship so much justice, by the honour of so great an employment. In which, as I know no man deserves greater successes than you do, so, I am sure no man wishes you greater than I do.

TO THE
DUKE of ORMOND,

Written in October 1673, upon his Grace's desiring me to give him my Opinion what was to be done in that Conjunction.

THERE never was any conjunction wherein it was more necessary for his Majesty to fall into a course of wise and steady counsels, nor ever any wherein it was more difficult to advise him. To make reflexions upon what is past is the part of ingenious, but irresolute men, or else of such as intend to value themselves by comparison with others whose corruptions or follies they condemn. But, in all matters of counsel, the good and prudent part is to take things as they are (since the past cannot be recalled) to propose remedies for the present evils, and provisions against future events.

The King finds himself engaged in the second year of a war with the *Dutch*, and for prosecution thereof in a strict alliance with *France*; and now in danger of being entangled in the quarrel broken out upon this occasion between *France* and the house of *Austria*. In this state of affairs, it is to be considered whether we can pursue our war with *Holland*, and yet preserve our peace with *Spain*; whether we are able to maintain the war with both in conjunction with *France*; and if not, what there is left for his Majesty to do, with the best regard to his honour and safety.

For the first, we shall soon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that, upon the late

conjunction between *Holland* and *Spain*, the *Dutch* should have obliged themselves to make no peace without the inclusion of their allies; and that *Spain* should not have yielded to break with us, in case they could not effect a peace between us and *Holland*; since the *Dutch* know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the fear of a breach with *Spain*, and so great a loss of trade in those dominions. The *Spaniards* have but one temptation of their own to quarrel with us, which is an occasion of recovering *Jamaica*; for that has even lien at their hearts, and 'tis to be feared their conjunction with *Holland* has not been perfected without early measures between them for the surprise of that island, unless our care has been as early in providing for its defence. And if we should lose it, I foresee little hurt we could do *Spain* in their *Indies*, guarded as they would be, and attended by the shipping of the *Dutch*. But his Majesty will, I suppose, soon know from *Spain* what he is to trust to in this point.

To judge, whether upon a breach with *Spain* we are able to maintain the war, must be considered the present state of the King's treasure, the rise or fall that may happen in his constant revenue by the *Spanish* war, the hopes that may be grounded upon supplies from *France*, the assurance or measure of those expected from the Parliament, the credit of the exchequer to raise present money where-ever any of these fall short, and the humour of the nation towards carrying on or ending the war.

For the present state of the treasury, the King best knows it himself, or his officers can best give the account; for the changes that may happen in his revenue, 'tis evident they must be much more for the worse the very first year of a *Spanish* war. The main branch of it, which is the customs, must wither away in a very great measure, since all the trade in a manner left us upon the *Dutch* war (that has turned to a

ny account) has been that with *Spain* and into the *Straits*: the first upon a *Spanish* war will be wholly lost; the last can neither be secured by our own convoys, nor by the *French* fleets in the *Mediterranean*, from the *Dutch* capers that will fill the *Spanish* havens, and from those of *Biscay*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Majorca*, which in all wars have been the nests of picaroons; so that no way seems left of beginning this war, but as the *Dutch* began theirs, by leaving off all trade in the nation while it lasts. But the case is very different between them and us; for they have still a trade left from the *North*, which, running upon a sandy coast from *Hamburg*, is secured from our fleets; and they have driven a great commerce by collusion with *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Bremeners*, and *Flemish*, ever since the war began. Besides, the hearts of their people (which would otherwise have sunk by the loss of trade) have been kept up by the necessity of their defence, by the last extremities which were threatened them from the war, and by the general opinion of justice in their cause, both from these circumstances, and the manner of ours and of the *French* beginning the war.

This makes the *States* content to impose, and the people to suffer, the utmost payments; and besides, in a manner all men of fortunes among them have a great part of their estates lying in the cantores of the *States* or the *Provinces*, which would all be lost upon the conquest of their country; so as they will lend to the last, for securing so much as is already in danger. And these are circumstances which will not be found in our dispositions or constitutions.

For supplies from *France*, it must be considered how their money has been drained out of the kingdom since this war began, by their payments to us, and to *Sweden*, to the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Munster*, and some other Princes of *Germany*; by their armies in *Germany*,

Germany, and the new conquests in *Holland*; all which returns no more into *France*, as money did in their former wars with *Spain*, that were made chiefly upon their confines; for then the pays of their armies being made only in the winter-quarters, which were in *France* or its frontiers, the money fell back again into the circulation of their own country; yet now their expence must upon a *Spanish* war be increased by new armies in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and new fleets in the *Mediterranean*; so that all these circumstances, with the general decay of trade by the war, must in few years time leave that kingdom poorer than it has been this age; and, where money is not, the King of *France* himself cannot have it.

For what supplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the war, some few days, I suppose, will inform us; and no measures can be taken unless by what passed in the former session, which was not very favourable to that design.

For the credit of the exchequer (at least to any measure that may supply the course of necessities of a war) I fear it is irrecoverably lost by the last breach with the bankers; for credit is gained by custom and course of time, and seldom recovers a strain; but, if broken, is never well set again. I have heard a great example given of this (by some of our merchants) that happened upon the last King's seizing 200000 *l.* that was in the mint about the year 38, which had then the credit of a bank, and for several years had been the treasury of all the vast payments transmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders*. But, after this invasion of it, though the King paid back the money within very few months, yet the mint has never since recovered its credit among foreign merchants.

If the business of money should happen to go lame upon any or all of these feet, then all that will be left to carry on the war is the humour of the nation: and

that

that sometimes may go farther than any treasures, if spirited by hatred or revenge, by the love of religion or liberty, or the necessity of defence: but the good will of the nation to the present war (as it was foreseen by those who gave the desperate counsels of beginning it with the proroguing of the Parliament, and stopping of the exchequer; so it) has been since but too much experienced by the successes have attended it, which will ever depend upon the humours and opinions of those that serve, as well as the abilities and conduct of those that command; and not to speak of those incurable jealousies which have been so generally raised or infused into the people about the first designs of this war, and so much increased by the professions or actions, or at least the general reputation of those who pass for the chief authors of it: 'tis at least observable, that after so long hostility, and four battles, yet the nation does not seem at all to be angry, though that is the first thing should be brought about, if we would have men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a breach with *Spain* should make us any kinder to the war than we were before; since that must grow wholly upon occasion of the *French*, we having no quarrel there of our own. And our kindness to *France* will spirit us as little as our hatred to *Spain*, at least till their fortunes change, and the balance rise again on the *Spanish* side, which has risen so long and to such a height on the *French*; for by the course of human nature there will ever be a degree of hatred mingled with fear, and of kindness with compassion.

Upon the survey of these provisions and dispositions, it must be concluded necessary for his Majesty either to make a peace, or else to turn the war directly upon such points of honour, justice, and safety, as may engage both the Parliament and nation in the support and prosecution of the war. And, to do this, he must

must at least offer at a peace, and upon terms into which the humour and spirit of the nation will run.

The conjunction now perfected between *Holland* and *Spain* seems the happiest thing that could have arrived to his Majesty's affairs upon this occasion; for whilst *Holland* stood alone, in case we had been forced to offer at any measures with them, *France* might upon the first jealousy have been before us, and slipping one knot might have tied another in three days time. But now the interests of the *Empire*, *Spain*, and *Lorraine* are woven together with those of *Holland*, it will not be a short and easy work to adjust those of *France* with the Emperor in the matters of *Alsatia*, with *Spain* in *Flanders*, or the Duke of *Lorraine* in that *Duchy*; nor is the conjunction between *Holland* and their allies likely to be broken, unless by the revolutions of war the *Dutch* come to apprehend a near and greater danger from *Spain*, in which case they will not fail of returning to their old measures with *France*.

The first pace, which seems necessary for his Majesty to make, is to fall into confidence with *Spain* as far as possible he can, by assuring them he resolves upon a neutrality in the war between them and *France*; that, if he comes to a peace with *Holland*, he intends it shall pass by their mediation; and, if that be effected, he will employ his own towards the general peace of *Christendom*, and particularly that between *France* and *Spain*.

The next point is to resolve upon the conditions necessary to a peace; the best way to this, is to seek without passion where the justice lies, and the true interests of his Majesty's Crowns, as it is generally understood by his people, of which the sense of his Parliament is the best testimony; for their concurrence will give weight to his demands of peace, or to the support of a war.

Between

Between us and *Holland*, the points of justice must be grounded upon the infraction of treaties, and so will reach only to the business of the flag and of *Surinam*. For the flag, it has been agreed by three several treaties in the same form; but, the articles still referring to former use, it remains to discuss and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the manner and circumstances of observing it. Without this, no peace we can have will seem to be made with intentions to keep it long, while the interpretation of that article about the flag, is a ground, at pleasure, for opening a war. And this point can only be gained by a separate peace between us and *Holland*; for if the war should come to end in a general treaty, like that of *Munster*, as his Majesty's interest would be less considered in a croud of so many others, and would hardly be suffered to obstruct a general peace; so this right of the flag, in particular, would be at least disfavoured, if not opposed, by our friends as well as our enemies; that is, by *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*.

The business of *Surinam* is a trifle, and the disputes upon it arose, rather from an unkind and jealous humour growing between the nations, than from any difference or difficulty in adjusting it; so as that is not a thing will lie much in the way, being soon decided by plain articles upon the surrender of the place.

There are two points more wherein the honour and interest of the nation is concerned, and ought to be insisted upon, so far at least as to find a temper in them, though they can hardly be said to be points of justice, because they are not regulated by treaties. The first is the point of the *East-India* trade, wherein we desire new agreements between us, upon suspicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any breach in the old; and though our *East-India* company never urged their desires as a just ground for a quarrel, yet a
great

great deal might have been gained in this point from the *Dutch*, while they depended upon our alliance; and I suppose may be still, if we fall into it again.

The second is an acknowledgment to his Majesty for the leave of fishing upon his coasts; and though this may not be grounded upon any treaty, yet, if it appear to have been an ancient right on our side, and custom on theirs, and not determined or extinguished by any treaty between us, it may with justice be insisted on; though it will pass harder with the *Dutch* than any of the rest, who will much easier be induced to buy off the pretence with a great sum of money at one or more payments, than acknowledge it by a constant tribute.

The last thing his Majesty can demand from *Holland*, is money for the charges of the war. But, unless the justice or necessity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak ground. And if we expect money, it must be to purchase what is to come, and not to pay for what is past: and it is very probable, that if his Majesty should resolve of a peace with *Holland*, to enter into a mediation between *France* and *Spain*, upon the evident points of justice between them, and to join against that Crown which refuses the peace, both *Spain* and *Holland* would be content to part with their money upon such an agreement. But the measure and manner must be left to private treaty, and would depend upon the confidence between us.

Whatever, in any of these points, or any other, his Majesty should be content to release, ought to be done upon the satisfaction he should declare to have received in the advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the charges of his ancestors. But for his Majesty to insist upon any further advantages to the Prince, than are already devolved upon him, would not only raise invincible difficulties in our treaty with the States, but prejudice the Prince's affairs among them in a very

ry great measure. And the Prince, I believe, knows their constitution so well, as to understand it so.

If, upon good terms, in these particulars, a peace can be effected with *Holland*, the honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the interest of it, to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the events of a war; since we should be left in peace to enjoy the trade of the world, while the house of *Austria* and *Holland* would be engaged in a long war with *France*; and, whenever they grow weary, his Majesty would have the glory and advantage of mediating the peace.

For the measures to be observed in all this with *France*, and the preserving his Majesty's honour on that side: first, the humour of the Parliament as to this war, and the interest of the nation in the trade with *Spain*, ought to be represented to them as difficulties invincible, unless *France* can furnish the charge which the war will cost, beyond what can be spared out of his Majesty's constant revenue. Then his Majesty may propose to them his design of neutrality between them and *Spain*; which I suppose was not a point that entered into any agreements against *Holland*. And lastly, he may desire their consent, since he cannot prosecute the war, to make his peace with *Holland*, upon the assurance of employing afterwards his mediation between them and *Spain*, in which the concurrence of his Parliament will make him able to effect a peace, as the want of it has made him unable to pursue the war. If *France* will not consent either to furnish us with money sufficient to carry on the war, nor to our neutrality with *Spain*, nor peace with *Holland*, it would then be considered, whether *France*, in the like case, would suffer such a conjuncture as this to escape them upon any ties or treaties between us; or whether indeed any Prince or State would do so. A conjuncture whereby the honour and interest of his Majesty's

Crown may be provided for; the trade of the nation raised to a height it has not reached before; the passionate bent and humour of the people pleased, and their jealousies in a great measure allayed; the true balance of *Christendom* maintained; all the Princes and States of it (besides *France* alone) satisfied: and in short, by which his Majesty may grow again insensibly into the hearts of his people at home, and into the influence upon all affairs of his neighbours abroad.

It is a rude thing which is commonly said, that we may come off from *France* with as much honour as we came on: but it is a true thing, that he has always the honour of the war, that has the advantage of it; and it is, I doubt, so of a peace too; and that cannot fail us here, provided we make sure of *Spain* (in case we apprehend our losing of *France*) to which their dispositions and interests must certainly concur with ours in all points, unless that of *Jamaica* make an exception.

All the difficulty his Majesty can meet with, in this pursuit, will be some want of reputation and trust with the governments of *Spain* and *Holland*, which have been foiled of late by the breach of our former alliances, so much (as they think) against our own interests as well all theirs; for all treaties are grounded upon the common belief, that every State will be ever found in their own interests, among which their honour and observance of faith grows to be one very considerable (because, while the minds of men are generally possessed with a belief of God Almighty's concerning himself in affairs here below, the opinion of justice or injustice in a quarrel will never fail of having mighty effect upon the successes of a war:) therefore our reputation cannot any way be so far recovered with our neighbours, as by their finding that his Majesty's councils return into the true interests of his kingdoms; which will make the *Spaniards* believe our measures may

may be firm with them, upon the same reason which has shaken them with *France*. Thus much is certain, that whatever means will restore, or raise the credit of his Majesty's government at home, will do it abroad too: for a King of *England*, at the head of his Parliament and people, and in their hearts and interests, can never fail of making what figure he pleases in the world, nor of being safe and easy at home; and may despise all the designs of factious men, who can only make themselves considered by seeming to be in the interest of the nation, when the Court seems to be out of it. But, in running on counsels contrary to the general humour and spirit of the people, the King indeed may make his Ministers great subjects, but they can never make him a great Prince.

T O

TO THE
C O U N T E S S
O F
E S S E X,
U P O N

Her Grief occasioned by the Loss of her only Daughter,

Sheen, Jan. 29, 1674.

TH E honour, I received by a letter from your Ladyship, was too great and too sensible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that occasion could bear me out in the confidence of giving your Ladyship any further troubles of this kind, without as good an errand as my last. This I have reckoned upon a good while, by another visit my sister and I had designed to my Lord Capel. How we came to have deferred it so long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this distance, though we make ourselves believe it could not be helped. Your Ladyship at least has had the advantage of being thereby excused some time from this trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the sensible wounds that have so often of late been given your friends here by such desperate expressions in several of your letters concerning your humour, your health, and your life; in all which, if they are your friends, you must allow them to be extremely concerned. Perhaps none can
be

be at heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladyship, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occasion, how unjust and unkind soever you are to yourself. But when you go about to throw away your health, or your life, so great a remainder of your own family, and so great hopes of that into which you are entered, and all by a desperate melancholy, upon an accident past remedy, and to which all mortal race is perpetually subject: for God's sake, Madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with so good a Christian, or so reasonable and so great a person as your Ladyship appears to the world in all other lights.

I know no duty in religion more generally agreed on, nor more justly required by God Almighty, than a perfect submission to his will in all things; nor do I think any disposition of mind can either please him more, or become us better, than that of being satisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None, I am sure, can be of more honour to God, nor of more ease to ourselves; for if we consider him as our maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our father, we ought not to distrust him; so that we may be confident, whatever he does is intended for good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwise, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor save any thing by resisting.

But if it were fit for us to reason with God Almighty, and your Ladyship's loss be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive: yet, I doubt, you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do; for the first motions or passions, how violent soever, may be pardoned; and it is only the course of them which makes them inexcusable. In this world, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good; and whatever is called so, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind,

or else with the evil that is mingled in its composition; so he is a good man that is better than men commonly are, or in whom the good qualities are more than the bad; so in the course of life, his condition is esteemed good, which is better than that of most other men, or wherein the good circumstances are more than the ill. By this measure, I doubt, Madam, your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your friends would have cause to rejoice rather than condole with you: for the goods or blessings of life are usually esteemed to be birth, health, beauty, friends, children, honour, riches. Now when your Ladyship has fairly considered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has given you of all these, you may be left to judge yourself how you have dealt with him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you and consider other lives as well as your own, and what your lot is in comparison with those that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; if you think how few are born with honour, how many die without name or children, how little beauty we see, how few friends we hear of, how many diseases, and how much poverty there is in the world, you will fall down upon your knees, and, instead of repining at one affliction, will admire so many blessings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your Ladyship in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all these points, would look like a design to flatter you. But this I may say, that we will pity you as much as you please, if you will tell us who they are that you think upon all circumstances you have reason to envy. Now if I had a master that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either because I used it ill, or gave myself so much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the rest of the world;

or

or perhaps because he would shew his power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the rest; would you think I had much reason to complain of hard usage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

'Tis true you have lost a child, and therein all that could be lost in a child of that age; but you have kept one child, and are likely to do so long; you have the assurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a husband, great in employment, and in fortune, and (which is more) in the esteem of good men. You have kept your beauty and your health, unless you have destroyed them yourself, or discouraged them to stay with you by using them ill. You have friends that are as kind to you as you can wish, or as you can give them leave to be by their fears of losing you, and being thereby so much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have honour and esteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, 'tis only upon that point of your seeming to be fallen out with God and the whole world, and neither to care for yourself, or any thing else, after what you have lost.

You will say perhaps *that* one thing was all to you, and your fondness of it made you indifferent to every thing else. But this, I doubt, will be so far from justifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the blessings of life, and you set your heart wholly upon one, and despise or undervalue all the rest: is this his fault or your's? nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very scornful to the rest of the world? is it not to say, because you have lost one thing God hath given, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? is it not to say, since that one thing is gone out of the world, there is nothing left in it which you think can
deserve

deserve your kindness or esteem? A friend makes me a feast, and sets all before me that his care or kindness could provide; but I set my heart upon one dish alone, and, if that happen to be thrown down, I scorn all the rest; and though he sends for another of the same, yet I rise from the table in a rage, and say my friend is my enemy, and has done me the greatest wrong in the world: have I reason, Madam, or good grace in what I do? or would it become me better to eat of the rest that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the precepts of christianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our passions, to temper our affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the possession, and patient under the loss whenever he that gave shall see fit to take away. Your extreme fondness was perhaps as displeasing to God before, as now your extreme affliction; and your loss may have been a punishment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. 'Tis at least pious to ascribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits, rather than to injustice in God; and it becomes us better to adore all the issues of his providence in the effects, than inquire into the causes: for submission is the only way of reasoning between a creature and its maker; and contentment in his will is the greatest duty we can pretend to, and the best remedy we can apply to all our misfortunes.

But, Madam, though religion were no party in your case, and that, for so violent and injurious a grief, you had nothing to answer to God, but only to the world and yourself; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the world with us a poor, needy, uncertain life, short at the longest, and unquiet at the best; all the imaginations of the witty and the wise have been perpetually busied to find out the ways how to revive it with pleasures, or relieve it

with

with diversions; how to compose it with ease, and settle it with safety. To some of these ends have been employed the institutions of lawgivers, the reasonings of philosophers, the inventions of poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous men. All the world is perpetually at work about nothing else, but only that our poor mortal lives should pass the easier and happier for that little time we possess them, or else end the better when we lose them. Upon this occasion riches came to be coveted, honours to be esteemed, friendship and love to be pursued, and virtues themselves to be admired in the world. Now, Madam, is it not to bid defiance to all mankind, to condemn their universal opinions and designs, if, instead of passing your life as well and easily, you resolve to pass it as ill and as miserably as you can? you grow insensible to the conveniences of riches, the delights of honour and praise, the charms of kindness or friendship, nay to the observance or applause of virtues themselves; for who can you expect, in these excesses of passion, will allow you to shew either temperance or fortitude, to be either prudent or just? and for your friends, I suppose you reckon upon losing their kindness, when you have sufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of your's, since you have none left for yourself or any thing else. You declare upon all occasions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleasure in any thing that is left in this world; and, I assure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to please you.

Among the several inquiries and endeavours after the happiness of life, the sensual men agree in pursuit of every pleasure they can start, without regarding the pains of the chase, the weariness when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The busy and ambitious fall

into the more lasting pursuits of power and riches ; the speculative men prefer tranquillity of mind, before the different motions of passion and appetite, or the common successions of desire and satiety, of pleasure and pain ; but this may seem too dull a principle for the happiness of life, which is ever in motion ; and passions are perhaps the stings, without which they say no honey is made ; yet I think all sorts of men have ever agreed, they ought to be our servants, and not our masters ; to give us some agitation for entertainment or exercise, but never to throw our reason out of its seat. Perhaps I would not always sit still, or would be sometimes on horseback ; but I would never ride a horse that galls my flesh, or shakes my bones, or that runs away with me as he pleases, so as I can neither stop at a river or precipice. Better no passions at all, than have them too violent ; or such alone as, instead of heightening our pleasures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all such losses as your Ladyship's has been, there is something that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed ; but all excessive and outrageous grief or lamentation for the dead, was accounted, among the ancient Christians, to have something of heathenish ; and, among the civil nations of old, to have something of barbarous ; and therefore, it has been the care of the first to moderate it by their precepts, and the latter to restrain it by their law. The longest time that has been allowed to the forms of mourning, by the custom of any country, and in any relation, has been but that of a year ; in which space the body is commonly supposed to be mouldered away to earth, and to retain no more figure of what it was ; but this has been given only to the loss of parents, of husband, or wife. On the other side, to children under age, nothing has been allowed ; and I suppose

suppose with particular reason (the common ground of all general customs) perhaps because they die in innocence, and without having tasted the miseries of life, so as we are sure they are well when they leave us, and escape much ill which would in all appearance have befallen them if they had staid longer with us. Besides, a parent may have twenty children, and so his mourning may run through all the best of his life, if his losses are frequent of that kind; and our kindness to children so young is taken to proceed from common opinions, or fond imaginations, not friendship or esteem; and to be grounded upon entertainment rather than use, in the many offices of life: nor would it pass from any person besides your Ladyship, to say you lost a companion and a friend at nine year old, though you lost one indeed, who gave the fairest hopes that could be, of being both in time, and every thing else that was esteemable and good: but yet, that itself, God only knows, considering the changes of humour and disposition, which are as great as those of feature and shape the first sixteen years of our lives, considering the chances of time, the infection of company, the snares of the world, and the passions of youth; so that the most excellent and agreeable creature of that tender age, and that seemed born under the happiest stars, might, by the course of years and accidents, come to be the most miserable herself, and more trouble to her friends by living long, than she could have been by dying young.

Yet, after all, Madam, I think your loss so great, and some measure of your grief so deserved, that, would all your passionate complaints, all the anguish of your heart, do any thing to retrieve it; could tears water the lovely plant, so as to make it grow again after once it is cut down; would sighs furnish new breath, or could it draw life and spirits from the wasting of your's;

your's; I am sure your friends would be so far from accusing your passion, that they would encourage it as much, and share it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal laws of the creation extinguish all such hopes, forbid all such designs: nature gives us many children and friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the excesses of grief to have been so universally condemned as a thing unnatural, because so much in vain; whereas nature, they say, does nothing in vain: as a thing so unreasonable, because so contrary to our own designs; for we all design to be well, and at ease, and by grief we make ourselves ill of imaginary wounds, and raise ourselves troubles most properly out of the dust, whilst our ravings and complaints are but like arrows shot up into the air, at no mark, and so to no purpose, but only to fall back upon our heads, and destroy ourselves, instead of recovering or revenging our friends.

Perhaps, Madam, you will say, this is your design, or, if not, your desire; but I hope you are not yet so far gone, or so desperately bent: your Ladyship knows very well, your life is not your own, but his that lent it you to manage, and preserve the best you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from some common hand. It belongs in a great measure to your country, and your family; and therefore, by all human laws, as well as divine, self-murder has ever been agreed upon as the greatest crime, and is punished here with the utmost shame, which is all that can be inflicted on the dead. But is the crime much less to kill ourselves by a slow poison, than by a sudden wound? Now, if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual grief, can we think ourselves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our hearts, or consume them; if we pierce them or bruise them;

since

since all determines in the same death, as all arises from the same despair? But what if it goes not so far? it is not indeed so bad as might be, but that does not excuse it from being very ill: though I do not kill my neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to spoil him of the conveniencies of life? The greatest crime is for a man to kill himself; is it a small one to wound himself by anguish of heart, by grief, or despair, to ruin his health; to shorten his age, to deprive himself of all the pleasures, or eases, or enjoyments of life?

Next to the mischiefs we do ourselves, are those we do our children, and our friends, as those who deserve best of us, or at least deserve no ill. The child you carry about you, what has that done, that you should endeavour to deprive it of life, almost as soon as you bestow it? or if at the best you suffer it to live to be born, yet, by your ill usage of yourself, should so much impair the strength of its body and health, and perhaps the very temper of its mind, by giving it such an infusion of melancholy, as may serve to discolour the objects, and disrelish the accidents it may meet with in the common train of life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you say to another you are? Were it a small injury to my Lord Capell, to deprive him of a mother, from whose prudence and kindness he may justly expect the cares of his health and education, the forming of his body, and the cultivating of his mind; the seeds of honour and virtue, and thereby the true principles of a happy life? How has my Lord of *Essex* deserved that you should go about to lose him a wife he loves with so much passion, and, which is more, with so much reason; so great an honour and support to his family, so great a hope to his fortune, and comfort to his life? Are there so many left of your own great family, that you should desire in a manner wholly to reduce it, by suffering

fering the greatest and almost last branch of it to wither away before its time? Or is your country in this age so stored with great persons, that you should envy it those we may justly expect from so noble a race?

Whilst I had any hopes your tears would ease you, or that your grief would consume itself by liberty and time, your Ladyship knows very well I never once accused it, nor ever increased it, like many others, by the common formal ways of asswaging it; and this, I am sure, is the first office of this kind I ever went about to perform, otherways than in the most ordinary forms. I was in hope what was so violent could not be so long; but, when I observed it to grow stronger with age, and increase like a stream the further it run; when I saw it draw out to so much unhappy consequences, and threaten no less than your child, your health, and your life, I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it, without begging of your Ladyship, for God's sake, and for your own, for your children, and your friends, for your country's and your family's, that you would no longer abandon yourself to so disconsolate a passion, but that you would, at length, awaken your piety, give way to your prudence, or, at least, rouse the invincible spirit of the *Pierces*, that never yet shrunk at any disaster; that you would sometimes remember the great honours and fortunes of your family, not always the losses; cherish those veins of good humour that are sometimes so natural to you, and fear up those of ill that would make you so unnatural to your children, and to yourself: but, above all, that you would enter upon the cares of your health, and your life, for your friends sake at least, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could

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could be to me so great an honour and satisfaction, as if your Ladyship would own me to have contributed towards this cure; but, however, none can perhaps more justly pretend to your pardon for the attempt, since there is none, I am sure, that has always had at heart a greater honour for your Ladyship's family, nor can have for your person more devotion and esteem than,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's most obedient,

and most humble servant.

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AN
ESSAY

Upon the CURE of the

GOUT

BY

MOXA.

[Written to Monsieur DE ZULICHEM.]

Nimeguen, June 18. 1677.

I Never thought it would have befallen me to be the first that should try a new experiment, any more than to be author of any new invention: being little inclined to practise upon others, and as little that others should practise upon me. The same warmth of head disposes men to both, though one be commonly esteemed an honour, and the other a reproach. I am sorry the first, and the worse of the two, is fallen to my share, by which all a man can hope is to avoid censure, and that is much harder than

than to gain applause; for this may be done by one great or wise action in an age; but to avoid censure, a man must pass his life without saying or doing one ill or foolish thing.

This might serve the turn, if all men were just; but, as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that 'tis the idlest pretension in the world to live without it; the meanest subjects censuring the actions of the greatest Prince; the silliest servants, of the wisest master; and young children, of the oldest parents. Therefore I have not troubled myself to give any account of an experiment I made by your persuasion, to satisfy those who imputed it to folly, rashness, or impatience; but to satisfy you who proposed the thing, in kindness to me, and desired the relation of it, in kindness to other men.

I confess your engaging me first in this adventure of the *Mona*, and desiring the story of it from me; is like giving one the torture, and then asking his confession; which is hard usage to an innocent man and a friend. Besides, having suffered the first, I took myself to have a right of refusing the other. But I find your authority with me is too great to be disputed in either; and the pretence of public good is a cheat that will ever pass in the world, though so often abused by ill men, that I wonder the good do not grow ashamed to use it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but say that I have done, as well as suffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the story with the more circumstance, because many questioned the disease, that they might not allow of the cure; though the certainty of one, and force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two returns since I left you at the *Hague*, which passed with the same success. The reasonings upon this method, which seem to confirm the experiment, and other remedies for the *gout*

here reflected on, are aimed at the same end for which you seemed so much to desire this relation. The digressions I cannot excuse otherwise, than by the confidence that no man will read them, who has not at least as much leisure as I had when I writ them; and whosoever dislikes or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For those about temperance, age, or their effects and periods, in reference to public business, they could be better addressed to none, than to you, who have passed the longest life with the most temperance, and the best health and humour of any man I know; and, having run through so much great and public business, have found out the secret so little known, that there is a time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one piece of merit in this relation, which is to have writ it for you in *English*, being the language I always observed to have most of your kindness among so many others of your acquaintance. If your partiality to that, and to me, and to your own request, will not excuse all the faults of this paper, I have nothing more to say for it, and so will leave you to judge of it as you please.

AMONG all the diseases to which the intemperance of this age disposes it (at least in these northern climates) I have observed none to increase so much within the compass of my memory and conversation, as the *gout*, nor any I think of worse consequence to mankind; because it falls generally upon persons engaged in publick affairs and great employments, upon whose thoughts and cares (if not their motions and their pains) the common good and service of their country so much depends. The general Officers of armies, the Governors of provinces, the publick Ministers in counsels at home, and embassies
abroad

abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally subject to it in one degree or other. I suppose the reason of this may be, that men seldom come into those posts till after forty years old, about which time the natural heat, beginning to decay, makes way for those distempers they are most inclined to by their native constitutions, or by their customs and habits of life. Besides, persons in those posts are usually born of families noble and rich, and so derive a weakness of constitution from the ease and luxury of their ancestors, and the delicacy of their own education: or if not, yet the plenty of their fortunes from those very employments, and the general custom of living in them at much expence, engages men in the constant use of great tables, and in frequent excesses of several kinds, which must end in diseases when the vigour of youth is past, and the force of exercise (that served before to spend the humour) is given over for a sedentary and unactive life.

These I take to be the reasons of such person's being so generally subject to such accidents more than other men; and they are so plain, that they must needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill consequence of it is not so obvious, though perhaps as evident to men that observe; and may be equally confirmed by reasons and examples. It is that the vigour of the mind decays with that of the body, and not only humour and invention, but even judgment and resolution, change and languish, with ill constitution of body, and of health; and by this means public business comes to suffer by private infirmities, and kingdoms or States fall into weaknesses and distempers or decays of those persons that manage them.

Within these fifteen years past, I have known a great fleet disabled for two months, and thereby lose great occasions, by an indisposition of the Admiral, while

while he was neither well enough to exercise, nor ill enough to leave the command. I have known two towns, of the greatest consequence, lost, contrary to all forms, by the Governor's falling ill in the time of the sieges.

I have observed the fate of a *Campania* determine contrary to all appearances, by the caution and conduct of a General, which were attributed, by those that knew him, to his age and infirmities, rather than his own true qualities, acknowledged otherwise to have been as great as most men of the age. I have seen the counsels of a noble country grow bold or timorous, according to the fits of his good or ill health that managed them, and the pulse of the government beat high or low with that of the Governor: and this unequal conduct makes way for great accidents in the world: nay, I have often reflected upon the counsels and fortunes of the greatest monarchies, rising and decaying sensibly with the ages and healths of the Princes and chief officers that governed them. And I remember one great Minister that confessed to me, when he fell into one of his usual fits of the *gout*, he was no longer able to bend his mind or thoughts to any public business, nor give audiences beyond two or three of his own domestics, though it were to save a kingdom; and that this proceeded, not from any violence of pain, but from a general languishing and faintness of spirits, which made him, in those fits, think nothing worth the trouble of one careful or solicitous thought. For the approaches or lurkings of the *gout*, the *spleen*, or the *scurvy*, nay, the very fumes of indigestion, may indispose men to thought and to care, as well as diseases of danger and pain.

Thus, accidents of health grow to be accidents of State, and public constitutions come to depend, in a great measure, upon those of particular men; which makes

makes it perhaps seem necessary, in the choice of persons for great employments (at least such as require constant application and pains) to consider their bodies, as well as their minds, and ages and health, as well as their abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worse judge of age, I have often said, that what great thing soever man proposed to do in his life, he should think of achieving it by fifty years old. Now, I am approaching that age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no man rides to an end of that stage without feeling his journey in all parts, whatever distinctions are made between the mind and the body, or between judgment and memory. And tho' I have known some few, who might perhaps be of use in counsel upon great occasions, till after threescore and ten; and have heard that the two late Ministers in *Spain*, Counts of *Castriglio* and *Pignoranda*, were so till fourscore: yet I will not answer, that the very conduct of public affairs, under their ministry, has not always tasted of the lees of their age.

I observe in this assembly at *Nimeguen*, from so many several parts of *Christendom*, that, of one and twenty Ambassadors, there are but three above fifty years old, which seems an argument, of my opinion being in a manner general: nor can I think the period ill calculated, at least for a great General of armies, or Minister of State, in times or scenes of great action, when the care of a State or an army ought to be as constant as the *Chymics* fire, to make any great production; and, if it goes out for an hour, perhaps the whole operation fails. Now, I doubt, whether any man after fifty be capable of such constant application of thought, any more than of long and violent labour or exercise, which that certainly is, and of the finest parts. Besides, none that feel sensibly the decays of age, and his life wearing off, can figure to himself
those

those imaginary charms in riches and praise, that men are apt to do in the warmth of their blood; and those are the usual incentives towards the attempt of great dangers, and support of great trouble and pains.

To confirm this by examples, I have heard that Cardinal *Mazarine*, about five and fifty, found it was time to give over: that the present Grand *Visier*, who passes for one of the greatest men of that empire, or this age, began his ministry about twenty eight: and the greatest I have observed, which was that of *Monsieur De Witt*, began at three and thirty, and lasted to forty eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many years longer at that height, even without that fatal end. Among other qualities which entered into the composition of this Minister, the great care he had of his health, and the little of his life, were not, I think, the least considerable; since from the first he derived his great temperance, as well as his great boldness and constancy from the other. And if intemperance be allowed to be the common mother of *gout*, or *dropsy*, and of *scurvy*, and most other lingering diseases, which are those that infest the State; I think temperance deserves the first rank among public virtues, as well as those of private men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the constant steady exercise of prudence, justice, or fortitude, without it.

Upon these grounds whoever can propose a way of curing, or preventing the *gout* (which entered chiefly into those examples I have mentioned of public affairs, suffering by private indispositions) would perhaps do a service to Princes and States, as well as to particular men; which makes me the more willing to tell my story, and talk out of my trade, being strongly possessed with a belief, that what I have tried or thought, or heard upon this subject, may go a great way in preventing the growth of this disease where it is but new, though

perhaps

perhaps longer methods are necessary to deal with it when it is old.

From my grandfather's death I had reason to apprehend the *stone*, and from my father's life the *gout*, who has been for this many years, and still continues much afflicted with it. The first apprehension has been, I confess, with me ever the strongest, and the other hardly in my thoughts, having never deserved it by the usual forms; nor had I ever, I thank God, the least threat from either of them, till the last year at the *Hague*, being then in the seven and fortieth year of my age; when about the end of *February*, one night at supper, I felt a sudden pain in my right foot, which, from the first moment it began, increased sensibly, and in an hour's time to that degree, that though I said nothing, yet others took notice of it in my face, and said, they were sure I was not well, and would have had me go to bed. I confessed I was in pain, and thought it was with some sprain at tennis: I pulled off my shoe, and, with some ease that gave me, stirred not till the company broke up, which was about three hours after my pain began. I went away to bed, but it raged so much all night, that I could not sleep a wink. I endured it till about eight next morning, in hopes still of stealing some rest; but then making my complaints, and shewing my foot, they found it very red and angry; and, to relieve my extremity of pain, began to apply common poltices to it; and by the frequent change of them I found some ease, and continued this exercise all that day, and a great part of the following night, which I passed with very little rest. The morning after my foot began to swell, and the violence of my pain to assuage, though it left such a foreness, that I could hardly suffer the cloaths of my bed, nor stir my foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my illness, being inquired after about the town, was concluded to be the *gout*; and being

no longer feverish, or in any extremity of pain, I was content to see company. Every body, that came to visit me, found something to say upon the occasion; some made a jest of it, or a little reproach; others were serious in their mirth, and made me compliments, as upon a happy accident and sign of long life. The *Spaniards* asked me *Albricias* for telling me the news, that I might be sure it was the *gout*; and in short, none of the company was in ill humour but I, who had rather by half have had a fever or a worse disease at that time, where the danger might have been greater, but the trouble and the melancholy would, I am sure, have been less.

Though I had never feared the *gout*, yet I had always scorned it as an effect commonly of intemperance; and hated it, as what I thought made men unfit for any thing after they were once deep engaged in it: besides, I was pressed in my journey at that time to *Nimwegen* by his Majesty's commands, to assist at the treaty there. Most of the Ambassadors from the several parts of *Christendom* were upon their way: one of my *colleagues* was already upon the place, and I had promised immediately to follow; for by our commission we were to be two to act in that mediation; and, to help at this pinch, I had always heard that a fit of the *gout* used to have six weeks at the least for its ordinary period. With these comforts about me, and fullness enough to use no remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monsieur *Zulichem* came to see me (among the rest of my friends) who, I think, never came into company without saying something that was new, and so he did upon my occasion. For talking of my illness, and approving of my obstinacy against all the common prescriptions; he asked me whether I had never heard the *Indian* way of curing the *gout* by *Moxa*? I told him no, and asked him what it was? he said it was a certain kind of moss that grew in the

East-Indies;

East-Indies; that their way was, whenever any body fell into a fit of the *gout*, to take a small quantity of it, and form it into a figure broad at bottom as a two-pence, and pointed at top; to set the bottom exactly upon the place where the violence of the pain was fixed; then with a small round perfumed match (made likewise in the *Indies*) to give fire to the top of the moss; which burning down by degrees came at length to the skin, and burnt it till the moss was consumed to ashes: that many times the first burning would remove the pain; if not, it was to be renewed a second, third, and fourth time, till it went away, and till the person found he could set his foot boldly to the ground and walk.

I desired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new operation. He said, by the relation of several who had seen and tried it in the *Indies*, but particularly by an ingenious little book, written of it by a *Dutch* Minister at *Batavia*, who being extremely tormented with a fit of the *gout*, an old *Indian* woman, coming to see him, undertook to cure him, and did it immediately by this *Moxa*; and, after many experiments of it there, had written this treatise of it in *Dutch* for the use of his country-men, and sent over a quantity of the moss and matches to his son at *Utrecht*, to be sold, if any would be persuaded to use them. That, though he could not say whether experiment had been made of it here, yet the book was worth reading; and for his part, he thought he should try it, if ever he should fall into that disease.

I desired the book, which he promised to send me next morning; and this discourse of Monsieur *Zulichem* busied my head all night. I hated the very name of the *gout*, and thought it a reproach; and for the good sign people called it, I could not find that mended an ill thing; nor could I like any sign of living

long in weakness or in pain. I deplored the loss of my legs, and confinement to my chamber at an age that left me little pleasure but of walking and of air; but the worst circumstance of all was the sentence past upon it of being without cure.

I had passed twenty years of my life, and several accidents of danger in my health, without any use of physicians; and, from some experiments of my own, as well as much reading and thought upon that subject, had reasoned myself into an opinion, that the use of them and their methods (unless in some sudden and acute disease) was itself a very great venture; and that their greatest practisers practised least upon themselves, or their friends. I had ever quarrelled with their studying art more than nature, and applying themselves to methods, rather than to remedies; whereas the knowledge of the last is all that nine parts in ten of the world have trusted to in all ages.

But for the common remedies of the *gout*, I found exceptions to them all; the time of purging was past with me, which otherwise I should certainly have tried upon the authority of the great *Hippocrates*, who says it should be done upon the first motion of the humour in the *gout*. For poltices, I knew they allayed pain; but withal, that they drew down the humours, and supplied the parts, thereby making the passages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity; and I had often heard it concluded, that the use of them ended in losing that of one's limbs, by weakening the joint upon every fit. For plaisters that had any effect, I thought it must be by dispersing or repelling the humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps some other disease of the bowels, the stomach, or the head. Rest and warmth either of cloaths, or bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the effects of poltices; and sweating was proper for prevention, rather than remedy. So that all I could end in, with

any satisfaction, was patience and abstinence; and though I easily resolved of the last, yet the first was hard to be found in the circumstances of my business as well as of my health.

All this made me rave upon Monsieur *Zulichem's* new operation; and for the way of curing by fire, I found twenty things to give me an opinion of it. I remembered what I had read of the *Egyptians* of old, who used it in most diseases; and what I had often heard of that practice still continuing among the *Moors* of *Afric*; so that a slave is seldom taken (as both *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* affirm) who has not many scars of the hot-iron upon his body, which they use upon most distempers, but especially those of the head, and consequently in physic as well as in surgery. In the time of the *Incas* reign in *Peru* (which I take to have been one of the greatest constitutions of absolute monarchy that has been in the world) no composition was allowed by the laws to be used in point of medicine, but only simples proper to each disease. Burning was much in use either by natural or artificial fires; particularly for all illness of teeth, and soreness or swelling of the gums (which they were subject to from their nearness to the sea) they had an herb which never failed of curing it, and, being laid to the gums, burnt away all the flesh that was swelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as sound as that of a child. I remembered to have had myself, in my youth, one cruel wound cured by scalding medication, after it was grown so putrified as to have (in the surgeon's opinion) endangered the bone; and the violent swelling and bruise of another taken away as soon as I received it, by scalding it with milk. I remembered the cure of chil-blains, when I was a boy, (which may be called the childrens *gout*) by burning at the fire, or else by scalding brine, that has (I suppose) the same effect. I had heard of curing the stings of adders,

and

and bites of mad dogs, by immediately burning the part with a hot-iron; and of some strange cures of frenzies, by casual applications of fire to the lower parts; which seems reasonable enough, by the violent revulsion it may make of humours from the head; and agrees with the opinions and practice I mentioned before, of *Egypt* and *Africa*. Perhaps blistering in the neck, and hot pigeons, may be in use among us upon the same grounds; and in our methods of surgery, nothing is found of such effect in the case of old ulcers as fire, which is certainly the greatest drawer and drier, and thereby the greatest cleanser that can be found. I knew very well, that, in diseases of cattle, there is nothing more commonly used, nor with greater success; and concluded it was but a tenderness to mankind that made it less in use amongst us, and which had introduced corrosives and caustics to supply the place of it, which are indeed but artificial fires.

I mention all these reflexions, to shew that the experiment I resolved to make was upon thought, and not rashness or impatience (as those called it that would have dissuaded me from it;) but the chief reason was, that I liked no other, because I knew they failed every day, and left men in despair of being ever well cured of the gout.

Next morning I looked over the book which Monsieur *Zulichem* had promised me, written by the Minister at *Batavia*. I pretended not to judge of the *Indian* philosophy, or reasonings upon the cause of the gout; but yet thought them as probable as those of physicians here; and liked them so much the better, because it seems their opinion in the point is general among them, as well as their method of curing; whereas the differences among ours, are almost as many in both, as there are physicians that reason upon the causes, or practise upon the cure of that disease. They hold, that the cause of the gout is a malignant vapour

vapour that falls upon the joint between the bone and the skin that covers it, which, being the most sensible of all parts of the body, causes the violence of the pain. That the swelling is no part of the disease, but only an effect of it, and of a kindness in nature, that, to relieve the part affected, calls down humours to damp the malignity of the vapour, and thereby assuage the sharpness of the pain; which seldom fails, whenever the part grows very much swelled. That consequently the swellings and returns of the *gout* are chiefly occasioned by the ill methods of curing it at first. That this vapour, falling upon joints which have not motion, and thereby heat enough, to dispel it, cannot be cured otherwise than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the present ceasing of the pain upon the second, third, or fourth application of the *Moxa*, which are performed in a few minutes time. And the author affirms it happens often there, that, upon the last burning, an extreme stench comes out of the skin where the fire had opened it.

Whatever the reasonings were, which yet seemed ingenious enough; the experiments alledged with so much confidence, and to be so general in those parts, and told by an author that writ like a plain man, and one whose profession was to tell truth, helped me to resolve upon making the trial. I was confirmed in this resolution by a *German* physician, doctor *Theodore Colledy*, who was then in my family, a sober and intelligent man, whom I dispatched immediately to *Utrecht*, to bring me some of the *Moxa*, and learn the exact method of using it, from the man that sold it, who was son to the Minister of *Batavia*. He returned with all that belonged to this cure, having performed the whole operation upon his hand by the man's direction, I immediately made the experiment in the manner before related, setting the *Moxa* just upon the place where the

the first violence of my pain began, which was the joint of the great toe, and where the greatest anger and fore-ness still continued, notwithstanding the swelling of my foot, so that I had never yet, in five days, been able to stir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the first burning, I found the skin shrink all round the place; and, whether the greater pain of the fire had taken away the sense of a smaller or no, I could not tell; but I thought it less than it was: I burnt it the second time, and upon it observed the skin about it to shrink, and the swelling to flat yet more than at first. I began to move my toe, which I had not done before; but I found some remainders of pain. I burnt it the third time, and observed still the same effects without, but a much greater within; for I stirred the joint several times at ease; and, growing bolder, I set my foot to the ground without any pain at all. After this, I pursued the method prescribed by the book, and the author's son at *Utrecht*, and had a bruised clove of garlic laid to the place that was burnt, and covered with a large plaister of *diapalma*, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more pain, and treading still bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a slipper to let in my foot, swelled as it was, and walked half a dozen turns about the room, without any pain or trouble, and much to the surprize of those that were about me, as well as to my own. For, though I had reasoned myself before hand into an opinion of the thing, yet I could not expect such an effect as I found, which seldom reaches to the degree that is promised by the prescribers of any remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied so late, and the prescription reaching only to the first attack of the pain, and before the part begins to swell.

For the pain of the burning itself, the first time, it is sharp, so that a man may be allowed to complain;

I resolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain number, as the best measure how long it lasted. I told sixscore and four, as fast as I could; and when the fire of the *Moxa* was out, all pain of burning was over. The second time was not near so sharp as the first, and the third a great deal less than the second. The wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only scorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole trouble of the operation, than half a quarter of an hour's pain in the degree I felt it the first whole night.

After four and twenty hours, I had it opened, and found a great blister drawn by the garlic, which I used no more, but had the blister cut, which run a good deal of water, but filled again by the next night; and this continued for three days, with only a plaister of *diapalma* upon it; after which time the blister dried up, and left a sore about as big as a two-pence, which healed and went away in about a week's time longer; but I continued to walk every day, and without the least return of pain, the swelling still growing less, though it were near six weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common opinion, that walking too much might draw down the humour; which I have since had reason to conclude a great mistake, and that, if I had walked as much as I could from the first day the pain left me, the swelling might have left me too in a much less time.

The talk of this cure run about the *Hague*, and made the conversation in other places, as well as in the visits I received while I kept my chamber, which was about a fortnight after the burning. Monsieur *Zulichem* came to me among the rest of the good company of the town, and much pleased with my success, as well from his own great humanity and particular kindness to me, as from the part he had in being the first

first prescriber of my cure, and from the opinion it gave him of a common good fortune befallen all that felt, or were in danger of the *gout*.

Among others he told it to, Monsieur *Serinchamps* was one, an Envoy of the Duke of *Lorrain's*, then in town; a person very much and very deservedly esteemed among all the good company in town, and to whom every body was kind upon the score of his own good humour, or his master's ill fortunes: he had been long subject to the *gout*, and with constant returns of long and violent fits two or three times in a year. He was a man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy health whilst he had it, without making too much reflexion upon what was to follow; and so, when he was well, denied himself nothing of what he had a mind to eat or drink; which gave him a body full of humours, and made his fits of the *gout* as frequent and violent as most I have known: when they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as soon as they were past, till a new remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel fit, which was fallen upon his knee, and with extreme pain: when he heard of my cure, he sent to me first for the relation of it; and upon it, for my *Moxa*, and for *Coleby* to apply it. He suffered it; but after his pleasant way roared out, and swore at me all the while it was burning, and asked if I took him for a forcerer, that I sent to burn him alive? yet, with all this, the pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the same place; but he was something discouraged by a new pain falling some days after upon his elbow on the other side, which gave him a new fit, though gentler and shorter than they used to be.

About the same time one of the maids of my house was grown almost desperate with the tooth-ach, and want of sleep upon it, and was without remedy. The book gives the same cure for certain in that illness, by burning

burning upon the great vein under the ear; and the man who sold it at *Utrecht* had assured *Coleby* he had seen many cures by it in that kind. We resolved to try; which was done, and the pain immediately taken away, and the wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at least while she was in my house.

Thus passed the first experiment; upon which *Monsieur Zulichem*, giving an account of it to some of his friends at *Gresham college*, came to me before I left the *Hague*, formally to desire me from them, and from himself, that I would give a relation of it that might be made public, as a thing which might prove in appearance of common utility to so great numbers as were subject to that disease; and told me, that some of *Gresham college* had already given order for translating into *English* the little *Batavian* treatise. I commended the care of publishing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an experiment I had reason to approve; but excused myself from any relation of my own, as having too much business at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in public. I had another reason to decline it, that ever used to go far with me upon all new inventions or experiments, which is, that the best trial of them is by time, and observing whether they live or no; and that one or two trials can pretend to make no rule, no more than one swallow a summer; and so before I told my story to more than my friends, I had a mind to make more trials myself, or see them made by other people as wise as I had been.

During the confinement of this fit, I fell into some methods, and into much discourse upon the subject of the *gout*, that may be perhaps as well worth reflexion by such as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this *Indian* cure. In the first place, from the day I kept my chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I restrained myself to so regular a diet, as to

eat flesh but once a day, and little at a time, without salt or vinegar; and to one moderate draught, either of water or small ale. I concluded to trust to abstinence and exercise, as I had ever resolved, if I fell into this disease; and if it continued, to confine myself wholly to the milk-diet, of which I had met with very many and great examples, and had a great opinion even in long and inveterate *gouts*. Besides this refuge, I met with, in my visits and conversation arising upon my illness, many notions or medicines very new to me, and reflexions that may be so perhaps to other men. Old Prince *Maurice of Nassau* told me, he laughed at the *gout*, and though he had been several times attacked, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he used but one remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of horse-dung from a stone-horse of the *Hermelinne* colour, as he called it in *French*, which is a native white, with a sort of a raw nose, and the same commonly about the eyes: that, when this was well boiled in water, he set his leg in a pail-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an hour together: that, after it, he drew his leg immediately into a warm bed, to continue the perspiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the remedy be good, or the circumstances of colour signify any thing more, than to make more mystery, I know not; but I observed, that he ever had a set of such *Hermelinne* horses in his coach, which he told me was on purpose that he might never want this remedy.

The Count *Kinski*, Ambassador from the Emperor to the treaty at *Nimeguen*, gave me a receipt of the salt of harts-horn, by which a famous *Italian* physician of the Emperor's had performed mighty cures upon many others as well as himself, and the last year upon the Count *Montecuculi*: the use of this I am apt to esteem;

steem, both from the quality given it of provoking sweat extremely, and of taking away all sharpness from whatever you put it in; which must both be of good effect in the cure of the *gout*.

The *Rbyngrave*, who was killed last summer before *Maestricht*, told me his father the old *Rbyngrave*, whom I knew very well, had been long subject to the *gout*, and never used other method or remedy, than, upon the very first fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the weather was, and as long as he was able to stand, and pressing still most upon the foot that threatened him; when he came home he went to a warm bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the place where the pain begun. If it continued, or returned next day, he repeated the same course, and was never laid up with it; and before his death recommended this course to his son, if he should ever fall into that accident.

A *Dutchman*, who had been long in the *East-Indies*, told me, in one part of them, where he had lived some time, the general remedy of all, that were subject to the *gout*, was rubbing with hands; and that whoever had slaves enough to do that constantly every day, and relieve one another by turns, till the motion raised a violent heat about the joints where it was chiefly used, was never troubled much, or laid up by that disease.

My youngest brother told me he had a keeper very subject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was still walking after his deer, or his stud, while he had the fits upon him, as at other times, and often from morning to night, though in pain all the while. This he gave me as one instance, that poor and toiling men have sometimes the *gout*, and that many more may have it, who take no more notice of it, than his keeper did; who yet he confessed used to bring the fits of *gout* upon him, by fits of drinking, which no doubt
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is a receipt that will hardly fail, if men grow old in the custom.

Monfieur *Serinchamps* told me, a *Lorrain* furgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary way than any of thefe, which was by whipping the naked part with a great rod of nettles till it grew all over blistered; and that he had once perfuaded him to perform this penance in a fharp fit he had, and the pain in his knee fo violent, as helped him to endure this remedy. He faid it was cruel; that all where he was whipped grew fo angry, and fwelled as well as blistered, that he thought it had given him a fever that night. The next morning the part was all as ftiff as a boot, and the skin like parchment; but that, keeping it anointed with a certain *oil* likewise of nettles, it paff in two days, and the *gout* too, without feeling any more pain that fit.

All thefe things put together, with what a great phyfician writes of cures by whipping with rods, and another with holly, and by other cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the *gout* was a companion that ought to be treated like an enemy, and by no means like a friend, and that grew troublefome chiefly by good uſage; and this was confirmed to me by confidering that it haunted uſually the eaſy and the rich, the nice and the lazy, who grow to endure much, becauſe they can endure little: that make much of it as ſoon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themſelves too: that take care to carry it preſently to bed, and keep it ſafe and warm, and indeed lay up the *gout* for two or three months, while they give out, that the *gout* lays up them. On the other ſide, it hardly approaches the rough and the poor, ſuch as labour for meat, and eat only for hunger; that drink water, either pure, or but diſcoloured with malt; that know no uſe of wine, but for a cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: or if
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such men happen by their native constitutions to fall into the *gout*, either they mind it not at all, having no leisure to be sick; or they use it like a dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before, they keep it wet and cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced by that to fast more than before, and if it lasts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it, or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never know the very name of the *gout*.

But to follow my experiment: I passed that summer here at *Nimeguen*, without the least remembrance of what had happened to me in the spring, till about the end of *September*, and then began to feel a pain that I knew not what to make of, in the same joint, but of my other foot: I had flattered myself with hopes, that the vapour had been exhaled, as my learned authors had taught me, and that thereby the business had been ended; this made me neglect my *Moxa* for two days, the pain not being violent, till at last my foot began to swell, and I could set it no longer to the ground. Then I fell to my *Moxa* again, and burnt it four times before the pain went clear away, as it did upon the last, and I walked at ease, as I had done the first time, and within six days after above a league, without the least return of any pain.

I continued well till this spring, when about the end of *March* feeling again the same pain, and in the same joint, but of the first foot; and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third time; was never off my legs, nor kept my chamber a day. Upon both these last experiments I omitted the application of garlic, and contented myself with a plaister only of *diapalma* upon the place that was burnt, which crusted and healed in very few days, and without any trouble. I have since continued perfectly well to this present *June*; and with so much confidence of the cure, that I have been content

tent to trouble myself some hours with telling the story, which, 'tis possible, may at one time or other be thought worth making public, if I am further confirmed by more time and experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only satisfy Monsieur *Zulichem*, but myself too, who should be sorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other men, though never so unknown.

But this cure, I suppose, cannot pretend to deal with inveterate *gouts*, grown habitual by long and frequent returns, by dispositions of the stomach to convert even the best nourishment into those humours, and the vessels to receive them. For such constitutions, by all I have discovered, or considered upon this subject, the remedies (if any) are to be proposed either from a constant course of the milken diet, continued at least for a year together; or else from some of those methods commonly used in the cure of a worse disease (if at least I may be so bold with one that is so much in vogue;) the usual exceptions to the first are not only so long a constraint, but the weakness of spirits whilst it continues, and the danger of fevers whenever it is left off. There may, I believe, be some care necessary in this last point, upon so great a change; but for the other, I have met with no complaints among those that have used it; and Count *Egmont*, who has done so, more, I believe, than any other man, has told me, he never found himself in so much vigour, as in the midst of that course. I have known so many great examples of this cure, and heard of its being so familiar in *Austria*, that I wonder it has gained no more ground in other places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the loss of pain is generally thought to be purchased too dear by the loss of pleasure.

For the other, I met with a physician, whom I esteemed a man of truth, that told me of several great cures

cures of the *gout*, by a course of *guaiacum*, and of two patients of his own that had gone so far as to be fluxed for it, and with success. And indeed there seems nothing so proper, as what pretends to change the whole mass of the blood, or else a long course of violent perspiration. But the mischief is, that the *gout* is commonly the disease of aged men, who cannot go through with these strong remedies, which young men play with upon other occasions; and the reason, I suppose, why these ways are so little practised, is because it happens so seldom that young men have the *gout*.

Let the disease be new or old, and the remedies either of common or foreign growth, there is one ingredient of absolute necessity in all cases: for whoever thinks of curing the *gout*, without great temperance, had better resolve to endure it with patience: and I know not whether some desperate degrees of abstinence would not have the same effect upon other men, as they had upon *Atticus*, who weary of his life as well as his physicians, by long and cruel pains of a dropical *gout*, and despairing of any cure, resolved by degrees to starve himself to death; and went so far, that the physicians found he had ended his disease instead of his life; and told him, that, to be well, there would need nothing but only resolve to live. His answer was noble; that since dying was a thing to be done, and he was now so far on his way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was said and done, and could indeed have been so by none, but such a man as *Atticus*, who was singular in his life, as well as his death, and has been ever, I confess, by me as much esteemed in both, as any of those that have made greater figures upon the busy scenes of their own times, and since in records of story and of fame.

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But perhaps some such methods might succeed with others upon the designs to live, as they did with him upon those to die; and though such degrees may be too desperate, yet none of temperance can, I think, be too great for those that pretend the cure of inveterate *gouts*, or indeed of most other diseases to which mankind is exposed, rather by the viciousness, than by the frailty, of their natures. Temperance, that virtue without pride, and fortune without envy, that gives indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind; the best guardian of youth, and support of old age; the precept of reason, as well as religion; and physician of the soul, as well as the body; the tutelar Goddess of health, and universal medicine of life, that clears the head, and cleanses the blood, that eases the stomach, and purges the bowels, that strengthens the nerves, enlightens the eyes, and comforts the heart: in a word, that secures and perfects digestion, and thereby avoids the fumes and winds to which we owe the colic and the spleen; those crudities and sharp humours that feed the *scurvy* and the *gout*, and those slimy dregs, out of which the *gravel* and *stone* are formed within us. Diseases by which we often condemn ourselves to greater torments and miseries of life, than have perhaps been yet invented by anger or revenge, or inflicted by the greatest tyrants upon the worst of men.

I do not allow the pretence of temperance to all such as are seldom or never drunk, or fall into surfeits; for men may lose their health, without losing their senses, and be intemperate every day, without being drunk perhaps once in their lives: nay, for aught I know, if a man should pass the month in a college-diet, without excess or variety of meats or of drinks, but only the last day give a loose in them both, and so far till it comes to serve him for physic rather than food, and he utter his stomach as well as his heart; he may per-

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haps, as to the mere considerations of health, do much better than another that eats every day, but as men do generally in *England*, who pretend to live well in Court or in town, that is, in plenty and luxury, with great variety of meats, and a dozen glasses of wine at a meal, still spurring up appetite when it would lie down of itself; flushed every day, but never drunk; and, with the help of dozing three hours after dinner, as sober and wise as they were before.

But that which I call temperance, and reckon so necessary in all attempts and methods of curing the *gout*, is a regular and simple diet, limited by every man's experience of his own easy digestion, and thereby proportioning, as near as well can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our wasting bodies. Not can this be determined by measures and weights, or any general *Lessian* rules; but must vary with the vigour or decays of age, or of health, and the use or disuse of air, or of exercise, with the changes of appetite; and thereby what every man may find or suspect of the present strength or weakness of digestion: and in case of excesses, I take the *German* proverbial cure, by a *hair of the same beast*, to be the worst in the world; and the best to be that which is called the *monks diet*, to eat till you are sick, and fast till you are well again. In all courses of the *gout*, the most effectual point, I take to be abstinence from wine, further than as a cordial, where faintness or want of spirits require it: and the use of water where the stomach will bear it, as I believe most men's will, and with great advantage of digestion, unless they are spoiled with long and constant use of wines or other strong drinks. In that case they must be weaned, and the habit changed by degrees, and with time, for fear of falling into consumptions, instead of recovering *drop-sies* or *gouts*. But the wines used by those that feel or fear this disease, or pursue the cure, should rather

be *Spanish* or *Portugal*, than either *French* or *Rhenish*; and of the *French*, rather the *Provence* or *Languedoc*, than the *Bordeaux* or *Campagne*; and of the *Rhenish*, the *Rhinegar* and *Bleker*, of which at least it may be said that they do not so much harm as the others.

But I have known so great cures, and so many, done by obstinate resolutions of drinking no wine at all, that I put more weight upon the part of temperance, than any other. And I doubt very much whether the great increase of that disease in *England*, within these twenty years, may not have been occasioned by the custom of so much wine introduced into our constant and common tables: for this use may be more pernicious to health, than that of taverns and debauches, according to the old stile, which were but by fits, and upon set or casual encounters. I have sometimes thought that this custom of using wine, for our common drink, may alter, in time, the very constitution of our nation, I mean the native tempers of our bodies and minds, and cause a heat and sharpness in our humours, which is not natural to our climate. Our having been denied it by nature, is argument enough, that it was never intended us for common use; nor do I believe it was in any other countries, there being so small a part of the world where it grows; and where it does, the use of it pure being so little practised, and in some places defended by customs or laws. So the *Turks* have not known it, unless of late years; and I have met with many *Spaniards*, that never tasted it pure in their lives; nor, in the time when I was in *France*, did I observe any I conversed with to drink it unmixed at meals. The true use of wine is either as I mentioned, for a cordial; and I believe there is not a better to such as drink it seldom: or else what the mother of *Lemuel* tells her son, *Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that are heavy of heart; let him drink and forget his poverty,*

poverty, and remember his misery no more. At least it ought to be reserved for the times and occasions of feast and of joy, and be treated like a mistress rather than a wife, without abandoning either our wits to our humours, or our healths to our pleasure, or that of one sense to those of all the rest, which I doubt it impairs. This philosophy, I suppose, may pass with the youngest and most sensual men, while they pretend to be reasonable; but, whenever they have a mind to be otherwise, the best way they can take is to drink or to sleep, and either of them will serve the turn.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEA.

THE

SECOND PART,

IN FOUR

ESSAYS.

- I. *Upon* ANCIENT *and* MODERN LEARNING.
- II. *Upon* the GARDENS of EPICURUS.
- III. *Upon* HEROIC VIRTUE.
- IV. *Upon* POETRY.

— Juvat antiquos accedere fontes.

M. S. C. E. L. A. N. I. A.

T. H. E.

S. E. C. O. N. D. P. A. R. T.

L. I. N. E. S.

E. S. S. A. Y. S.

THE
L. I. N. E. S.
OF
THE
S. E. C. O. N. D. P. A. R. T.

THE
L. I. N. E. S.
OF
THE
S. E. C. O. N. D. P. A. R. T.

A L M Æ M A T R I,
A C A D E M I Æ
CANTABRIGIENSI,

Has qualescunque Nugas

At Rei Literariæ non alienas,

D. D. Dq;

A L U M N U S Olim

Et semper OBSERVANTISSIMUS

W. TEMPLE.

ALMA MATER
ACADEMY
CANTABRIGIENSIS

Has quatuordecim Reges
et Rex Iustinus non Romanus

D. D. D.

ALUMNUS

ALMA MATER

W. T. M.

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A N

ESSAY

UPON THE

Ancient and Modern Learning.

Whoever converses much among the old books, will be something hard to please among the new; yet these must have their part too in the leisure of an idle man, and have many of them their beauties as well as their defaults. Those of story, or relations of matter of fact, have a value from their substance, as much as from their form; and the variety of events is seldom without entertainment or instruction, how indifferently soever the tale is told. Other sorts of writings have little of esteem, but what they receive from the wit, learning, or genius of the authors, and are seldom met with of any excellency, because they do but trace over the paths that have been beaten by the ancients, or comment, critic, and flourish upon them; and are at best but copies after those originals, unless upon subjects never touched by them, such as are all that relate to the different constitutions of religions, laws, or governments in several countries, with all matters of controversy that arise upon them.

VOL. II.

S

Two

Two pieces that have lately pleased me (abstracted from any of these subjects) are, one in *English* upon the *Antediluvian* World; and another in *French* upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman, but both very finely in their several kinds, and upon their several subjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands: I was so pleased with the last (I mean the fashion of it, rather than the matter, which is old and beaten) that I inquired for what else I could of the same hand, till I met with a small piece concerning poesy, which gave me the same exception to both these authors, whom I should otherwise have been very partial to. For the first could not end his learned treatise without a panegyric of modern learning and knowledge in comparison of the ancient: and the other falls so grossly into the censure of the old poetry, and preference of the new, that I could not read either of these strains, without some indignation, which no quality among men is so apt to raise in me as sufficiency, the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. But, these two being not the only persons of the age that defend these opinions, it may be worth examining how far either reason or experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their favour.

The force of all that I have met with upon this subject, either in talk or writing is, first, as to knowledge; that we must have more than the ancients, because we have the advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illustrated by the similitude of a dwarf's standing upon a giant's shoulders, and seeing more or farther than he. Next as to wit or genius, that, nature being still the same, these must be much at a rate in all ages, at least in the same climates, as the growth and size of plants and animals commonly are; and if both these are allowed, they think the cause is gained. But I cannot tell why we should conclude, that the ancient
writers

writers had not as much advantage from the knowledge of others, that were ancient to them, as we have from those that are ancient to us. The invention of printing has not perhaps multiplied books, but only the copies of them; and if we believe there were six hundred thousand in the library of *Ptolemy*, we shall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, not, perhaps, by all put together: I mean so many originals, that have lived any time, and thereby given testimony of their having been thought worth preserving. For the scribblers are infinite, that, like mushrooms or flies, are born and die in small circles of time; whereas books, like proverbs, receive their chief value from the stamp and esteem of ages through which they have passed. Besides the account of this library at *Alexandria*, and others very voluminous in the lesser *Asia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of ancient writers in many of those books which we now call ancient, both philosophers and historians. 'Tis true, that, besides what we have in Scripture concerning the original and progress of the *Jewish* nation, all that passed in the rest of our world, before the *Trojan* war, is either sunk in the depths of time, wrapped up in the mysteries of fables, or so maimed by the want of testimonies, and loss of authors, that it appears to us in too obscure a shade, to make any judgment upon it. For the fragments of *Manethon* about the antiquities of *Egypt*, the relations in *Justin* concerning the *Scythian* empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the records of *China*, make such excursions beyond the periods of time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reason upon them. And this disagreement itself, after so great a part of the world became Christian, may have contributed to the loss of many ancient authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his time, of writing many books there was no end; and whoever considers the subject and the stile of *Job*,
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which by many is thought more ancient than *Moses*, will hardly think it was written in an age or country that wanted either books or learning; and yet he speaks of the ancients then, and their wisdom, as we do now.

But if any should so very rashly and presumptuously conclude, that there were few books before those we have either extant or upon record; yet that cannot argue there was no knowledge or learning before those periods of time, whereof they give us the short account. Books may be helps to learning and knowledge, and make it more common and diffused; but I doubt, whether they are necessary ones or no, or much advance any other science, beyond the particular records of actions or registers of time; and these perhaps might be as long preserved without them, by the care and exactness of tradition in the long successions of certain races of men, with whom they were intrusted. So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the least use or mention of letters, there was remaining among them the knowledge of what had passed in those mighty nations and governments for many ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is said to have flourished in books and learning before they had much progress in *Gaul* or *Britany*, there are now hardly any traces left of what passed there, before the conquest made of that country by the *English* in *Henry II.*'s time. A strange but plain demonstration, how knowledge and ignorance, as well as civility and barbarism, may succeed each other in the several countries of the world; how much better the records of time may be kept by tradition in one country than by writing in another; and how much we owe to those learned languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, without which, for aught I know, the world in all these *Western* parts would hardly be known to have been above five or six hundred years old, nor any certainty remain of what passed in it before that time.

'Tis true, in the *Eastern* regions, there seems to have been a general custom of the priests, in each country, having been, either by their own choice, or by design of the governments, the perpetual conservers of knowledge and story. Only in *China*, this last was committed particularly to certain officers of State, who were appointed or continued, upon every accession to that Crown, to register distinctly the times and memorable events of each reign. In *Æthiopia*, *Ægypt*, *Chaldea*, *Persia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, these cares were committed wholly to the priests, who were not less diligent in the registers of times and actions, than in the study and successive propagation thereby of all natural *science* and *philosophy*. Whether this was managed by letters, or tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the ancient colleges, or societies of priests, were mighty reservoirs or lakes of knowledge, into which some streams entered, perhaps every age, from the observations or inventions of any great spirits, or transcendent genius's, that happened to rise among them; and nothing was lost out of these stores, since the part of conserving what others have gained, either in knowledge or empire, is as common and easy, as the other is hard and rare among men.

In these soils were planted and cultivated those mighty growths of *Astronomy*, *Astrology*, *Magic*, *Geometry*, natural *Philosophy*, and ancient *Story*. From these sources, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and others of the ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all those depths of knowledge or learning, which have made them so renowned in all succeeding ages. I make a distinction between these two, taking knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by consent of those that first found them out, or have been since instructed in them; but learning is the knowledge of the different and contested opinions of men in former ages, and about which

which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes so much of one, and so little of the other, in the world.

Now to judge, whether the ancients or moderns can be probably thought to have made the greatest progress in the search and discoveries of the vast region of truth and nature; it will be worth inquiring, what guides have been used, and what labours employed, by the one and the other, in these noble travels and pursuits.

The modern scholars have their usual recourse to the universities of their countries; some few it may be to those of their neighbours; and this, in quest of books, rather than men, for their guides, though these are living, and those, in comparison, but dead instructors; which like a hand, with an inscription, can point out the straight way upon the road, but can neither tell you the next turnings, resolve your doubts, or answer your questions, like a guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his chamber. And who are these dead guides we seek in our journey? they are at best but some few authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in *Greek* and *Latin*, from the age of *Hippocrates*, to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above six hundred years. Before that time I know none, besides some poets, some fables, and some few epistles; and since that time, I know very few that can pretend to be authors, rather than transcribers or commentators, of the ancient learning: now to consider at what sources our ancients drew their water, and with what unwearied pains: 'tis evident, *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the two founders of the *Grecian* philosophy; the first gave beginning to the *Ionic* sect, and the other to the *Italic*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or composed: *Thales* was the first of the *Sophi*, or wise men famous in *Greece*, and is said to have learned his

his *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, *Astrology*, *Theology*, in his travels from his country *Miletus* to *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagoras* was the father of philosophers, and of the virtues; having in modesty chosen the name of a lover of wisdom, rather than of wise; and having first introduced the names of the four cardinal virtues, and given them the place and rank they have held ever since in the world: of these two mighty men remain no writings at all, for those golden verses that go under the name of *Pythagoras* are generally rejected as spurious, like many other fragments of *Sibyls*, or old poets, and some intire poems that run with ancient names: nor is it agreed, whether he ever left any thing written to his scholars or cotemporaries; or whether all, that learned of him, did it not by the ear and memory; and all that remained of him, for some succeeding ages, were not by tradition. But, whether these ever writ or no, they were the fountains, out of which the following *Greek* philosophers drew all those streams that have since watered the studies of the learned world, and furnished the voluminous writings of so many sects, as passed afterwards under the common name of philosophers.

As there were guides to those that we call ancients, so there were others that were guides to them, in whose search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, that all the learning of the *Greeks* was deduced originally from *Ægypt* or *Phœnicia*; but, whether theirs might not have flourished to that degree it did, by the commerce of the *Æthiopians*, *Chaldeans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, is not so evident (though I am very apt to believe it), and to most of these regions some of the *Greeks* travelled in search of those golden mines of learning and knowledge: not to mention the voyages of *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophist, *Appollo-*
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nius, (who was but an ape of the ancient philosophers) I shall only trace those of *Pythagoras*, who seems, of all others, to have gone the farthest upon this design, and to have brought home the greatest treasures. He went first to *Ægypt*, where he spent two and twenty years in study and conversation, among the several colleges of priests, in *Memphis*, *Thebes*, and *Helopolis*, was initiated in all their several mysteries, in order to gain admittance and instruction in the learning and sciences that were there, in their highest ascendent. Twelve years he spent in *Babylon*, and in the studies and learning of the priests or *Magi* of the *Chaldeans*. Besides these long abodes, in those two regions, celebrated for ancient learning, and where one author, according to their calculations, says, he gained the observations of innumerable ages, he travelled likewise upon the same scent into *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the oracles that were renowned in any of these regions.

What sort of morals some of those may have been, that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to trace out, by the most ancient accounts that are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, since those of the learned or sages in the other countries occur more frequent in story. These were all of one race or tribe, that was kept chaste from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the service of the Gods, to the studies of wisdom and nature, and to the counsel of their Princes. There was not only particular care taken of their birth and nurture, but even from their conception. For when a woman among them was known to have conceived, much thought and diligence was employed about her diet and entertainments, so far as to furnish her with pleasant imaginations, to compose her mind and her sleeps, with the best temper, during the time she carried her burden. This I take to be a strain beyond all the *Grecian* wit, or the constitutions

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even of their imaginary lawgivers, who began their cares of mankind only after their birth, and none before. Those of the *Brachmans* continued in the same degree for their education and instruction, in which, and their studies, and discipline of their colleges, or separate abodes in woods and fields, they spent thirty-seven years. Their learning and institutions were unwritten, and only traditional among themselves, by a perpetual succession. Their opinions in natural philosophy were, that the world was round, that it had a beginning, and would have an end, but reckoned both by immense periods of time; that the author of it was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole universe, and was diffused through all the parts of it. They held the transmigration of souls, and some used discourses of infernal mansions, in many things, like those of *Plato*. Their moral philosophy consisted chiefly in preventing all diseases or distempers of the body, from which they esteemed the perturbation of mind, in a great measure, to arise. Then, in composing the mind, and exempting it from all anxious cares, esteeming the troublesome and solicitous thoughts, about past and future, to be like so many dreams, and no more to be regarded. They despised both life and death, pleasure and pain, or at least thought them perfectly indifferent. Their justice was exact and exemplary; their temperance so great, that they lived upon rice or herbs, and upon nothing that had sensitive life. If they fell sick, they counted it such a mark of intemperance, that they would frequently die out of shame and fullness; but many lived a hundred and fifty, and some two hundred years.

Their wisdom was so highly esteemed, that some of them were always employed to follow the courts of their Kings, to advise them upon all occasions, and instruct them in justice and piety; and upon this regard, *Calanus*, and some others, are said to have fol-

lowed the camp of *Alexander*, after his conquest of one of their Kings. The magical operations, reported of them, are so wonderful, that they must either be wholly disbelieved, or will make easy way for the credit of all those that we so often meet with in the latter relations of the *Indies*. Above all the rest, their fortitude was most admirable in their patience and endurance of all evils, of pain, and of death; some standing, sitting, lying, without any motion whole days together in the scorching sun; others standing whole nights upon one leg, and holding up a heavy piece of wood or stone in both hands; without ever moving, (which might be done, upon some sort of penances usual among them.) They frequently ended their lives by their own choice, and not necessity, and most usually by fire; some upon sickness; others upon misfortunes; some upon mere satiety of life: so *Galanus*, in *Alexander's* time, burnt himself publicly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zormanochages*, in the time of *Augustus*, upon his constant health and felicity, and to prevent his living so long as to fall into diseases or misfortunes. These were the *Brackmans* of *India*, by the most ancient relations remaining of them, and which compared with our modern (since navigation and trade have discovered so much of those vast countries) make it easy to conjecture that the present *Baniams* have derived from them many of their customs and opinions, which are still very like them, after the course of two thousand years. For how long nations, without the changes introduced by conquest, may continue in the same customs, institutions, and opinions, will be easily observed, in the stories of the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*, of the *Chinese* and *Scythians*: these last being described by *Herodotus*, to lodge always in carts, and to feed commonly upon the milk of mares, as the *Tartars* are reported to do at this time, in many parts of those vast northern regions.

From these famous *Indians*, it seems to be most probable, that *Pythagoras* learned, and transported into *Greece* and *Italy*, the greatest part of his natural and moral philosophy, rather than from the *Egyptians*, as is commonly supposed; for I have not observed any mention of the transmigration of souls, held among the *Egyptians*, more ancient than the time of *Pythagoras*: on the contrary, *Orpheus* is said to have brought out of *Egypt* all his mystical theology, with the stories of the *Stygian* lake, *Charon*, the infernal judges, which were wrought up by the succeeding poets (with a mixture of the *Cretan* tales, or traditions) into that part of the *Pagan* religion, so long observed by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that this was in all parts very different from the *Pythagorean* opinion of transmigration, which, though it was preserved long among some of the succeeding philosophers, yet never entered into the vulgar belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it seem unlikely that the *Egyptians* themselves might have drawn much of their learning from the *Indians*; for they are observed, in some authors, to have done it from the *Æthiopians*; and chronologers, I think, agree, that these were a colony that came anciently from the river *Indus*, and planted themselves upon that part of *Africa*, which from the name was afterwards called *Æthiopia*, and in probability brought their learning and their customs with them. The *Phœnicians* are likewise said to have been anciently a colony that came from the *Red Sea*, and planted themselves upon the *Mediterranean*; and from thence spread so far the fame of their learning, and their navigations.

To strengthen this conjecture, of much learning being derived from such remote and ancient fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be asserted with great evidence, that though we know little of the antiquities of *India*, beyond *Alexander's* time, yet those
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of *China* are the oldest that any where pretend to any fair records; for these are agreed, by the missionary Jesuits, to extend so far above four thousand years, and with such appearances of clear and undeniable testimonies, that those religious men themselves, rather than question their truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourse to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby to save the appearance in those records of the *Chineses*. Now though we have been deprived of the knowledge of what course learning may have held, and to what heights it may have soared, in that vast region, and during so great antiquity of time, by reason of the savage ambition of one of their Kings, who, desirous to begin the period of history from his own reign, ordered all books to be burnt, except those of physic and agriculture; so that, what we have remaining besides, of that wise and ancient nation, is but what was either by chance, or by private industry, rescued out of that public calamity (among which were a copy of the records and successions of the crown;) yet it is observable and agreed, that as the opinions of the learned among them are at present, so they were anciently divided into two sects; whereof one held the transmigration of souls, and the other the eternity of matter, comparing the world to a great mass of metal, out of which some parts are continually made up into a thousand various figures, and after certain periods melted down again into the same mass. That there were many volumes written of old in natural philosophy among them; that, near the age of *Socrates*, lived their great and renowned *Confutius*, who began the same design of reclaiming men from the useless and endless speculations of nature, to those of morality. But with this difference, that the bent of the *Grecian* seems to be chiefly upon the happiness of private men or families, but that of the *Chinese*, upon the

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the good temperament and felicity of such kingdoms or governments as that was, and is known to have continued for several thousands of years; and may be properly called, a government of learned men, since no other are admitted into charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that, in these remote regions, not only *Pythagoras* learned the first principles, both of his natural and moral philosophy; but that those of *Democritus* (who travelled into *Egypt*, *Chaldea*, and *India*, and whose doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the same fountains; and that, long before them both, *Lycurgus*, who likewise travelled into *India*, brought from thence also the chief principles of his laws and politics, so much renowned in the world.

For whoever observes the account already given of the ancient *Indian* and *Chinese* learning and opinions, will easily find among them the seeds of all these *Grecian* productions and institutions: as the transmigrati-
on of souls, and the four cardinal virtues: the long silence enjoined his scholars, and propagation of their doctrines by tradition, rather than letters, and abstinence from all meats that had animal life, introduced by *Pythagoras*: the eternity of matter, with perpetual changes of form, the indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, by *Epicurus*: and among those of *Lycurgus*, the care of education from the birth of children, the austere temperance of diet, the patient endurance of toil and pain, the neglect or contempt of life, the use of gold and silver only in their temples, the defence of commerce with strangers, and several others, by him established among the *Spartans*, seem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any race, or vein of thought or imagination, that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that age, or any since.

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It may look like a paradox, to deduce learning from regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude. And it is true, the generality of people were always so, in those *eastern* countries, and their lives wholly turned to agriculture, to mechanics, or to trades; but this does not hinder particular races or successions of men (the design of whose thought and time was turned wholly to learning and knowledge) from having been what they are represented, and what they deserve to be esteemed; since among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themselves, there have been such races of men under the names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Runers*, and other barbarous appellations.

Besides, I know no circumstances like to contribute more to the advancement of knowledge and learning among men, than exact temperance in their races, great pureness of air, and equality of climate, long tranquillity of empire or government: and all these we may justly allow to those *eastern* regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at least till the conquests made by the *Tartars* upon both *India* and *Cbina*, in the latter centuries. However, it may be as pardonable, to derive some parts of learning from thence, as to go so far for the game of *chess*, which some curious and learned men have deduced from *India* into *Europe*, by two several roads, that is, by *Persia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia* into *Afric* and *Spain*.

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to say, for the giving some idea of what those sages or learned men were, or may have been, who were ancients to those that are ancients to us. Now to observe what these have been, is more easy and obvious. The most ancient *Grecians* that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly a great philosopher as well as lawgiver, were the seven sages: though the Court of *Cræsus* is said to have been much resorted to, by the sophists of *Greece*, in the happy beginnings of
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his reign. And some of these seven seem to have brought most of the sciences out of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, into *Greece*; particularly those of *Astronomy*, *Astrôlogy*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetic*. These were soon followed by *Pythagoras* (who seems to have introduced natural and moral philosophy) and by several of his followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But, of all these, there remains nothing in writing now among us; so that *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon* are the first philosophers, whose works have escaped the injuries of time. But that we may not conclude, the first writers we have of the *Grecians*, were the first learned or wise among them; we shall find upon enquiry, that the more ancient sages of *Greece* appear, by the characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater men. They were generally Princes or lawgivers of their countries, or at least offered or invited to be so, either of their own or of others, that desired them to frame or reform their several institutions of civil government. They were commonly excellent poets, and great physicians: they were so learned in natural philosophy, that they foretold not only eclipses in the heavens, but earthquakes at land, and storms at sea, great droughts, and great plagues, much plenty, or much scarcity of certain sorts of fruits or grain; not to mention the magical powers attributed to several of them, to allay storms, to raise gales, to appease commotions of people, to make plagues cease; which qualities, whether upon any ground of truth or no, yet, if well believed, must have raised them to that strange height they were at, of common esteem and honour, in their own and succeeding ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our moderns or our ancients may have had the greater and the better guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more application in the pursuit of knowledge. And, I think, it is enough to shew,

shew, that the advantages we have from those we call the ancients, may not be greater, than what they had from those that were so to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high flights of wit and knowledge, like those of power and of empire in the world, may not have been made by the pure native force of spirit or genius, in some single men, rather than by any derived strength among them, however increased by succession; and whether they may not have been the achievements of nature, rather than the improvements of art. Thus the conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take to have been the greatest recorded in story, were at their height in those persons that began them; and so far from being increased by their successors, that they were not preserved in their extent and vigour by any of them, grew weaker in every hand they passed through, or were divided into many, that set up for great Princes, out of several small ruins of the first empires, till they withered away in time, or were lost by the change of names, and forms of families, or of governments.

Just the same fate seems to have attended the highest flights of learning and of knowledge, that are upon our registers. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, were the first mighty conquerors of ignorance in our world, and made greater progresses in the several empires of science, than any of their successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and, not able to compass that itself, they have set up for authors, upon some parcels of those great stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those texts, and make the best copies they could, after those originals.

I have long thought, that the different abilities of men, which we call wisdom or prudence, for the conduct of public affairs or private life, grow directly out of that little grain of intellect or good sense, which they bring with them into the world; and that the defect of it in men comes from some want in their conception or birth.

—————*Dixitque semel nascentibus author,*
Quicquid scire licet—————

And though this may be improved or impaired in some degree, by accidents of education, of study, and of conversation and business, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its native force, no more than life can beyond the period to which it was destined, by the strength or weakness of the seminal virtue.

If these speculations should be true, then I know not what advantages we can pretend to modern knowledge, by any we receive from the ancients: nay 'tis possible, men may lose rather than gain by them; may lessen the force and growth of their own genius, by constraining and forming it upon that of others; may have less knowledge of their own, for contenting themselves with that of those before them. So a man, that only translates, shall never be a poet; nor a painter that only copies, nor a swimmer that swims always with bladders. So people that trust wholly to other's charity, and without industry of their own, will be always poor. Besides who can tell, whether learning may not even weaken invention, in a man that has great advantages from nature and birth; whether the weight and number of so many other mens thoughts and notions may not suppress his own, or hinder the motion and agitation of them, from which all invention arises; as heaping on wood, or too many sticks, or too close together, suppresses, and sometimes quite

extinguishes a little spark that would otherwise have grown up to a noble flame. The strength of mind, as well as of body, grows more from the warmth of exercise, than of cloaths; nay, too much of this foreign heat rather makes men faint, and their constitutions tender or weaker, than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are dwarfs, we are still so, though we stand upon a giant's shoulders; and even so placed, yet we see less than he, if we are naturally shorter sighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazzled with the height, which often happens from weakness either of heart or brain.

In the growth and stature of souls, as well as bodies, the common productions are of indifferent sizes, that occasion no gazing, nor no wonder: but, though there are or have been sometimes dwarfs and sometimes giants in the world, yet it does not follow, that there must be such in every age nor in every country: this we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, because there are none now, at least in the compass of our present knowledge or inquiry. As I believe, there may have been giants at some time, and some place or other in the world, or such a stature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in several thousands of years, or in any other parts; so there may be giants in wit and knowledge, of so over-grown a size, as not to be equalled again in many successions of ages, or any compass of place or country. Such, I am sure, *Lucretius* esteems and describes *Epicurus* to have been, and to have risen, like a prodigy of invention and knowledge, such as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different schemes or foundations. Because there is a stag's head at *Amboise* of

a most prodigious size, and a large table at *Memorancy* cut out of the thickness of a vine-stock, is it necessary, that there must be, every age, such a stag in every great forest, or such a vine in every large vineyard; or that the productions of nature, in any kind, must be still alike, or something near it, because nature is still the same? May there not many circumstances concur to one production that do not to any other, in one or many ages? In the growth of a tree, there is the native strength of the seed, both from the kind, and from the perfections of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the plant that bore it: there is the degree of strength and excellence, in that vein of earth where it first took root: there is a propriety of soil, suited to the kind of tree that grows in it: there is a great favour or dis-favour to its growth, from accidents of water and of shelter, from the kindness or unkindness of seasons, till it be past the need or the danger of them. All these, and perhaps many others, joined with the propitiousness of climate, to that sort of tree, and the length of age it shall stand and grow, may produce an oak, a fig, or a plain-tree, that shall deserve to be renowned in story, and shall not perhaps be paralleled in other countries or times.

May not the same have happened in the production, growth, and size of wit and genius in the world, or in some parts or ages of it, and from many more circumstances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the stupendious growth of a tree or animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, such prodigies of invention and learning in *philosophy*, *mathematics*, *physic*, *oratory*, *poetry*, that none has ever since approached them, as well as there were in *painting*, *statuary*, *architecture*? and yet their unparalleled and inimitable excellencies in these are undisputed.

Science

Science and arts have run their circles, and had their periods in the several parts of the world: they are generally agreed, to have held their course from *East* to *West*, to have begun in *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, to have been transplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*; to have sunk there, and, after many ages, to have revived from those ashes, and to have sprung up again, both in *Italy* and other more *western* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldea* and *Egypt* were learned and civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Egypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their heights in arts and sciences, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

These, and greater changes, are made in the several countries of the world, and courses of time, by the revolutions of empire, the devastations of armies, the cruelties of conquering, and the calamities of enslaved nations; by the violent inundations of water in some countries, and the cruel ravages of plagues in others. These sorts of accidents sometimes lay them so waste, that, when they rise again, 'tis from such low beginnings, that they look like new-created regions, or growing out of the original state of mankind, and without any records or remembrances, beyond certain short periods of time. Thus that vast continent of *Norway* is said to have been so wholly desolated by a plague, about eight or nine hundred years ago, that it was for some ages following a very desert, and since all over-grown with wood: and *Ireland* was so spoiled and wasted by the conquests of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any story or tradition what that island was, how planted or governed above five hundred years ago. What changes have been made by violent storms, and inundations of the sea in the maritime Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, is hard

hard to know, nor to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us of all that passed there before a certain and short period of time.

The accounts of many other countries would perhaps as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the depths of time, and gulphs of ignorance, had it not been for the assistances of those two languages, to which we owe all we have of learning or ancient records in the world. For whether we have any thing of the old *Chaldean*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly genuine or more ancient than the *Augustan* age, I am much in doubt; yet it is probable the vast *Alexandrian* library must have chiefly consisted of books composed in those languages, with the *Egyptian*, *Syrian*, and *Æthiopic*, or at least translated out of them by the care of the *Egyptian* Kings or Priests, as the *Old Testament* was, wherein the *Septuagints* employed left their name to that famous translation.

'Tis very true and just, all that is said of the mighty progress that learning and knowledge have made in the *western* parts of *Europe*, within these hundred and fifty years; but that does not conclude, it must be at a greater height than it had been in other countries, where it was growing much longer periods of time; it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon the fall of the *Roman* empire, almost all learning was buried in its ruins: the *northern* nations, that conquered or rather overwhelmed it by their numbers, were too barbarous to preserve the remains of learning or civility, more carefully than they did those of statuary or architecture, which fell before their brutish rage. The *Saracens* indeed, from their conquests of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great spoils of learning, as well as other riches, and gave the original of all that knowledge, which flourished for some time among the *Arabians*, and has since been copied

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out of many authors among them, as theirs have been out of those of the countries they had subdued; nor indeed do learning, civility, morality, seem any where to have made a greater growth, in so short a time, than in that empire, nor to have flourished more than in the reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whose victorious ensigns *Spain* was conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the rest of those *Scythian* swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under so many several names, over-run all *Europe*, took very hardly and very late any tincture of the learning and humanity that had flourished in the several regions of it, under the protection, and by the example and instructions, of the *Romans*, that had so long possessed them: those *northern* nations were indeed easier induced to embrace the religion of those they had subdued, and by their devotion gave great authority and revenues, and thereby ease to the Clergy, both secular and regular, through all their conquests. Great numbers of the better sort among the oppressed natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be safe and quiet under such rough masters, betook themselves to the profession and assemblies of religious orders and fraternities, and among those only were preserved all the poor remainders of learning, in these several countries.

But these good men either contented themselves with their devotion, or with the ease of quiet lives, or else employed their thoughts and studies to raise and maintain the esteem and authority of that sacred order, to which they owed the safety and repose, the wealth and honour they enjoyed. And in this they so well succeeded, that the conquerors were governed by those they had subdued, the greatest Princes by the meanest Priests, and the victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings fell at the feet of the *Roman* Prelates,

Whilst

Whilst the Clergy were busied in these thoughts or studies, the better sort among the Laity were wholly turned to arms and to honour, the meaner sort to labour or to spoil; Princes taken up with wars among themselves, or in those of the holy land, or between the Popes and Emperors upon disputes of the ecclesiastical and secular powers; learning so little in use among them, that few could write or read, besides those of the long robes. During this course of time, which lasted many ages in the *western* parts of *Europe*, the *Greek* tongue was wholly lost, and the purity of the *Roman* to that degree, that what remained of it was only a certain jargon rather than *Latin*, that passed among the *Monks* and *Friars* who were at all learned; and among the students of the several universities, which served to carry them to *Rome* in pursuit of preferments or causes depending there, and little else.

When the *Turks* took *Constantinople*, about two hundred years ago, and soon after possessed themselves of all *Greece*, the poor natives, fearing the tyranny of those cruel masters, made their escapes in great numbers to the neighbouring parts of Christendom, some by the *Austrian* territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; several that were learned among these *Grecians* (and brought many ancient books with them in that language) began to teach it in these countries; first to gain subsistence, and afterwards favour in some Princes or great men's courts, who began to take a pleasure or pride in countenancing learned men. Thus began the restoration of learning in these parts, with that of the *Greek* tongue; and soon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Erasmus* began that of the purer and ancient *Latin*. After them, *Bucanan* carried it, I think, to the greatest height of any of the moderns before or since: the *Monkish Latin* upon his return was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the restitution

tion of these two noble languages, and the books remaining of them (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) learning of all sorts began to thrive in these *western* regions; and since that time, and in the first succeeding century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of in such a compass of time, considering into what depths of ignorance it was sunk before.

But why from thence should be concluded, that it has out-grown all that was ancient, I see no reason. If a strong and vigorous man at thirty years old should fall into a consumption, and so draw on till fifty in the extremest weakness and infirmity; after that, should begin to recover health till sixty, so as to be again as strong as men usually are at that age: it might perhaps truly be said in that case, that he had grown more in strength that last ten years than any others of his life; but not that he was grown to more strength and vigour, than he had at thirty years old.

But what are the sciences wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no new philosophers, that have made entries upon that noble stage for fifteen hundred years past, unless *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it; of whom I shall make no critic here, but only say, that, by what appears of learned men's opinions in this age, they have by no means eclipsed the lustre of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the ancients. For grammar or rhetoric, no man ever disputed it with them; nor for poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the new *French* author I have mentioned; and against whose opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger evidence, than by his own poems, printed together with that treatise.

There is nothing new in *Astronomy*, to vie with the ancients, unless it be the *Copernican* system; nor in *Physic*, unless *Harvey's* circulation of the blood. But whether either of these be modern discoveries, or derived

rived from old fountains, is disputed: nay, it is so too, whether they are true or no; for though reason may seem to favour them more than the contrary opinions, yet sense can very hardly allow them; and, to satisfy mankind, both these must concur. But if they are true, yet these two great discoveries have made no change in the conclusions of *Astronomy*, nor in the practice of *Physic*, and so have been of little use to the world, though perhaps of much honour to the authors.

What are become of the charms of Music, by which men and beasts, fishes, fowls, and serpents, were so frequently enchanted, and their very natures changed; by which the passions of men were raised to the greatest height and violence, and then as suddenly appeased, so as they might be justly said to be turned into lions or lambs, into wolves or into harts, by the powers and charms of this admirable art? 'Tis agreed by the learned, that the science of music so admired of the ancients, is wholly lost in the world, and that what we have now is made up out of certain notes that fell into the fancy or observation of a poor *Frier*, in chanting his mattins. So as those two divine excellencies of music and poetry are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one fiddling, and the other rhyming; and are indeed very worthy the ignorance of the *Frier*, and the barbarousness of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magic*, by which the *Indians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Egyptians* were so renowned, and by which effects so wonderful, and to common men so astonishing, were produced, as made them have recourse to *Spirits*, or supernatural Powers, for some account of their strange operations? By *Magic*, I mean some excelling knowledge of nature, and the various powers and qualities in its several productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients.

ents, which, by force of some peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar observation or comprehension. These are by ignorant people called *Magic* or *conjuring*, and such like terms, and an account of them, much about as wise, is given by the common learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idiosyncrasies*, *Talismans*, and some scraps or terms left us by the *Egyptians* or *Grecians* of the ancient magic; but the science seems, with several others, to be wholly lost.

What traces have we left of that admirable science or skill in architecture, by which such stupenduous fabrics have been raised of old, and so many of the wonders of the world been produced, and which are so little approached by our modern achievements of this sort, that they hardly fall within our imagination? not to mention the walls and palace of *Babylon*, the pyramids of *Egypt*, the tomb of *Mausolus*, or colosse of *Rhodes*, the temples and palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: what can be more admirable in this kind than the *Roman* theatres, their aqueducts, and their bridges, among which that of *Trajan* over the *Danube* seems to have been the last flight of the ancient architecture? The stupenduous effects of this science sufficiently evince at what heights the Mathematics were among the ancients; but if this be not enough, whoever would be satisfied, need go no further than the siege of *Syracuse*, and that mighty defence made against the *Roman* power, more by the wonderful science and arts of *Archimedes*, and almost magical force of his engines, than by all the strength of the city, or number and bravery of the inhabitants.

The greatest invention that I know of, in latter ages, has been that of the loadstone, and consequently the greatest improvement has been made in the art of navigation; yet there must be allowed to have been something stupenduous in the numbers, and in the built of
their

their ships and gallies of old; and the skill of pilots, from the observation of the stars in the more serene climates, may be judged, by the navigations so celebrated in story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, not to mention other nations. However, it is to this we owe the discovery and commerce of so many vast countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the ancients, and the experimental proof of this terrestrial globe, which was before only speculation, but has since been surrounded by the fortune and boldness of several navigators. From this great, tho' fortuitous invention, and the consequence thereof, it must be allowed, that geography is mightily advanced in these latter ages. The vast continents of *China*, the *East* and *West Indies*, the long extent and coasts of *Africa*, with the numberless islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our acquaintance, and our maps; and great increases of wealth and luxury, but none of knowledge, brought among us, further than the extent and situation of country, the customs and manners of so many original nations which we call barbarous, and I am sure have treated them as if we hardly esteem them to be a part of mankind. I do not doubt, but many great and more noble uses would have been made of such conquests or discoveries, if they had fallen to the share of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in those ages, when knowledge and fame were in as great request as endless gains and wealth are among us now; and how much greater discoveries might have been made, by such spirits as theirs, is hard to guess. I am sure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the face of this terrestrial globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the progresses of navigation, since the use of the compass, which seems to have been long at a stand: how little has been performed of what has been so often and so confidently promised,

promised, of a *north west* passage to the *East* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the lands on that side of the *Magellan Straits* that lie towards the *South-pole*, which may be vast islands or continents, for aught any can yet aver, though that passage was so long since found out? Whether *Japan* be island or continent, with some parts of *Tartary* on the *North* side, is not certainly agreed. The lands of *Yedso* upon the *north-east* continent have been no more than coasted, and whether they may not join to the *northern* continent of *America* is by some doubted.

But the defect or negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond thirty five degrees, and that only by the necessity of doubling the *Cape of Good-hope* in our *East India* voyages; yet a continent has been long since found out within fifteen degrees to *South*, and about the length of *Java*, which is marked by the name of *New Holland* in the maps, and to what extent none knows, either to the *South*, the *East*, or the *West*; yet the learned have been of opinion, that there must be a balance of earth on that side of the line in some proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *sea* from thirty degrees to the *South-pole*, since we have found land to above sixty five degrees towards the *North*. But our navigators that way have been confined to the roads of trade; and our discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain degree of gain. And I have heard it said among the *Dutch*, that their *East-India* company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest penalties, any further attempts of discovering that continent, having already more trade in those parts than they can turn to account, and fearing some more populous nation of *Europe* might make great establishments of trade in some of those unknown regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus

Thus we are lame still in geography itself, which we might have expected to have run up to so much greater perfection by the use of the compass; and it seems to have been little advanced these last hundred years. So far have we been from improving upon those advantages we have received from the knowledge of the ancients, that, since the late restoration of learning and arts among us, our first flights seem to have been the highest, and a sudden damp to have fallen upon our wings, which has hindered us from rising above certain heights. The arts of painting and statuary began to revive with learning in *Europe*, and made a great but short flight; so as, for these last hundred years, we have not had one master in either of them, who deserved a rank with those that flourished in that short period after they began among us.

It were too great a mortification to think, that the same fate has happened to us, even in our modern learning, as if the growth of that, as well as of natural bodies, had some short periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which it must begin to decay. It falls in one country or one age, and rises again in others, but never beyond a certain pitch. One man, or one country, at a certain time runs a great length in some certain kinds of knowledge, but lose as much ground in others, that were perhaps as useful and as valuable. There is a certain degree of capacity in the greatest vessel, and, when 'tis full, if you pour in still, it must run out some way or other, and, the more it runs out on one side, the less runs out at the other. So the greatest memory, after a certain degree, as it learns or retains more of some things or words, loses and forgets as much of others. The largest and deepest reach of thought, the more it pursues some certain subjects, the more it neglects others.

Besides,

Besides, few men or none excel in all faculties of mind. A great memory may fail of invention; both may want judgment to digest or apply what they remember or invent. Great courage may want caution; great prudence may want vigour; yet all are necessary to make a great Commander. But how can a man hope to excel in all qualities, when some are produced by the heat, others by the coldness of brain and temper? The abilities of man must fall short on one side or other, like too scanty a blanket when you are a-bed, if you pull it upon your shoulders, you leave your feet bare; if you thrust it down upon your feet, your shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unless it be other natures and beings than God Almighty has given us? The height of our statures may be six or seven feet, and we would have it sixteen; the length of our age may reach to a hundred years, and we would have it a thousand. We are born to grovel upon the earth, and we would fain fore up to the skies. We cannot comprehend the growth of a kernel or seed, the frame of an *ant* or *bee*; we are amazed at the wisdom of the one, and industry of the other; and yet we will know the substance, the figure, the courses, the influences of all those glorious celestial bodies, and the end for which they were made: we pretend to give a clear account how thunder and lightning (that great artillery of God Almighty) is produced; and we cannot comprehend how the voice of a man is framed, that poor little noise we make every time we speak. The motion of the sun is plain and evident to some astronomers, and of the earth to others; yet we none of us know which of them moves, and meet with many seeming impossibilities in both, and beyond the fathom of human reason or comprehension. Nay, we do not so much as know what motion is, nor how a stone moves from our hand, when we throw it cross the street. Of all these

these that most ancient and divine writer gives the best account in that short satire, *Vain man would fain be wise, when he is born like a wild ass's colt.*

But, God be thanked, his pride is greater than his ignorance; and what he wants in knowledge, he supplies by sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be seen; when he is at the end of his line, he is at the bottom of the ocean; when he has shot his best, he is sure, none ever did nor ever can shoot better or beyond it. His own reason is the certain measure of truth, his own knowledge, of what is possible in nature; though his mind and his thoughts change every seven years, as well as his strength and his features: nay, though his opinions change every week or every day, yet he is sure, or at least confident, that his present thoughts and conclusions are just and true, and cannot be deceived: and, among all the miseries to which mankind is born and subjected in the whole course of his life, he has this one felicity to comfort and support him, that, in all ages, in all things, every man is always in the right. A boy of fifteen is wiser than his father at forty, the meanest subject than his Prince or Governors; and the modern scholars, because they have, for a hundred years past, learned their lesson pretty well, are much more knowing than the ancients their masters.

But let it be so, and proved by good reasons, is it so by experience too? Have the studies, the writings, the productions of *Gresham* college, or the late academies of *Paris*, outshined or eclipsed the *Lycæum* of *Plato*, the academy of *Aristotle*, the *Stoa* of *Zeno*, the garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Harvey* out-done *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'Avila's* and *Strada's* histories beyond those of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden's* Commentaries beyond those of *Cæsar*? the flights of *Boileau* above those of *Virgil*? If all
this

this must be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excelled *Homer*, as is pretended; and the modern *French* poetry, all that of the ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reasonably said, that the plays in *Moor-fields* are beyond the *Olympic* games; a *Welsh* or *Irish* harp, excel those of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; the pyramid in *London*, those of *Memphis*; and the *French* conquests in *Flanders* are greater than those of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, as their operas and panegyrics would make us believe.

But the consideration of poetry ought to be a subject by itself. For the books we have in prose, do any of the modern we converse with appear of such a spirit and force, as if they would live longer than the ancients have done? If our wit and eloquence, our knowledge or inventions would deserve it; yet our languages would not: there is no hopes of their lasting long, nor of any thing in them; they change every hundred years so as to be hardly known for the same, or any thing of the former styles to be endured by the latter; so as they can no more last like the ancients, than excellent carvings in wood, like those in marble or brass.

The three modern tongues most esteemed, are *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French*; all imperfect dialects of the noble *Roman*; first mingled and corrupted with the harsh words and terminations of those many different and barbarous nations, by whose invasions and excursions the *Roman* empire was long infested: they were afterwards made up into these several languages, by long and popular use, out of those ruins and corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing languages of those nations, to which these several Provinces came in time to be most and longest subjected as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) besides a mingle of those tongues which were original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the

Roman

Roman conquests and establishments there. Of these, there may be some remainders in *Biscay* or the *Asturias*; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallic* in *France*, the subjection there having been more universal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find the mountainous parts on the *North* of *Spain* were ever wholly subdued, or formerly governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their conquests in our island, which has preserved the ancient *Biscayn* and *British* more intire, than any native tongue of other Provinces, where the *Roman* and *Gothic* or *Northern* conquests reached, and were for any time established.

'Tis easy to imagine, how imperfect copies these modern languages, thus composed, must needs be of so excellent an original, being patched up out of the conceptions as well as sounds of such barbarous or enslaved people. Whereas the *Latin* was framed or cultivated by the thoughts and uses of the noblest nation that appears upon any record of story, and enriched only by the spoils of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to contest it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and must ever be, between the thoughts and words, the conceptions and languages of every country, and how great a difference this must make in the comparison and excellence of books; and how easy and just a preference it must decree to those of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the modern languages.

It may, perhaps, be further affirmed, in favour of the ancients, that the oldest books we have are still in their kind the best. The two most ancient that I know of in prose, among those we call profane authors, are *Æsop's Fables* and *Pbalaris's Epistles*, both living near the same time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the first has been agreed by all ages since, for

the greatest master in his kind, and all others of that sort have been but imitations of his original; so I think the Epistles of *Pbalaris* to have more grace, more spirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern. I know several learned men (or that usually pass for such, under the name of critics) have not esteemed them genuine, and *Politian* with some others have attributed them to *Lucian*: but I think he must have little skill in painting, that cannot find out this to be an original; such diversity of passions, upon such variety of actions and passages of life and government, such freedom of thought, such boldness of expression, such bounty to his friends, such scorn of his enemies, such honour of learned men, such esteem of good, such knowledge of life, such contempt of death, with such fierceness of nature and cruelty of revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them; and I esteem *Lucian* to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what *Pbalaris* did. In all one writ, you find the scholar or the sophist; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander.

The next to these, in time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*; of whom I shall say no more, than, what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds imitable. So are *Cæsar*, *Salust*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the ancientest of the *Latin* (I speak still of prose) unless it be some little of old *Cato* upon rustic affairs.

The height and purity of the *Roman* stile, as it began towards the time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* war; so it ended about that of *Tiberius*; and the last stain of it seems to have been *Velleius Paterculus*. The purity of the *Greek* lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till *Trajan's* time, when *Plutarch* wrote, whose *Greek* is much more

more estimable, than the *Latin* of *Tacitus* his contemporary. After this last, I know none that deserves the name of *Latin*, in comparison of what went before them, especially in the *Augustin* age; if any, 'tis the little treatise of *Minutius Felix*. All *Latin* books that we have till the end of *Trajan*, and all *Greek* till the end of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very estimable value. All written, since that time, seem to me to have little more than what comes from the relation of events we are glad to know, or the controversy of opinions in religion or laws, wherein the busy world has been so much employed.

The great wits among the moderns have been, in my opinion, and in their several kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes* (who writ *Don Quixote*) and *Guevara*; among the *French*, *Rabelais* and *Montaigne*; among the *English*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Bacon*, and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the subject of divinity, wherein the *Spanish* and *English* pens have been most conversant, and most excelled. The modern *French* are *Voiture*, *Rockfaucalt's* *Memoirs*, *Buffy's Amours de Gaul*, with several other little relations or memoirs that have run this age, which are very pleasant and entertaining, and seem to have refined the *French* language to a degree, that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does in all works, that, the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of weight and of strength; and, as that language has much more fineness and smoothness at this time, so I take it to have had much more force, spirit, and compass, in *Montaigne's* age.

Since those accidents, which contributed to the restoration of learning, almost extinguished in the western parts of *Europe*, have been observed; it will be just to mention some that may have hindered the advancement

vancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty growth and progress made in the first age after its recovery. One great reason may have been, that, very soon after the entry of learning upon the scene of *Christendom*, another was made by many of the new-learned men, into the inquiries and contests about matters of religion; the manners, and maxims, and institutions introduced by the Clergy, for seven or eight centuries past; the authority of Scripture and tradition; of Popes and of Councils; of the ancient fathers, and of the latter schoolmen and Casuists; of ecclesiastical and civil power. The humour of ravelling into all these mystical or intangled matters, mingling with the interests and passions of Princes and of parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced infinite disputes, raised violent heats throughout all parts of *Christendom*, and soon ended in many defections or reformati-
 ons from the *Roman Church*, and in several new institutions, both ecclesiastical and civil, in divers countries; which have been since rooted and established in almost all the *north-west* parts. The endless disputes and litigious quarrels upon all these subjects, favoured and encouraged by the interests of the several Princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally employed the thought, the studies, the applications, the endeavours of all or most of the finest wits, the deepest scholars, and the most learned writers that the age produced. Many excellent spirits, and the most penetrating *Genii*, that might have made admirable progresses and advances in many other sciences, were sunk and overwhelmed in the abyss of disputes about matters of religion, without ever turning their looks or thoughts any other way. To these disputes of the pen, succeeded those of the sword; and the ambition of great Princes and Ministers, mingled with the zeal, or covered with the pretences of religion, has
 for

for a hundred years past infested *Christendom* with almost a perpetual course, or succession, either of civil or of foreign wars: the noise and disorders whereof have been ever the most capital enemies of the *Muses*, who are seated, by the ancient fables, upon the top of *Parnassus*, that is, in a place of safety and of quiet, from the reach of all noises and disturbances of the regions below.

Another circumstance, that may have hindered the advancement of learning, has been a want or decay of favour in great Kings and Princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the first return or recovery of this fair stranger among us, all were fond of seeing her, apt to applaud her: she was lodged in palaces instead of cells; and the greatest Kings and Princes of the age took either a pleasure in courting her, or a vanity in admiring her, and in favouring all her train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes*, and of *Emperors*, thought themselves honoured and adorned, by the number and qualities of learned men, and by all the improvements of sciences and arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all parts, for the use and entertainment of Kings, for the education and instruction of young Princes, for advice and assistance to the greatest ministers; and, in short, the favour of learning was the humour and mode of the age. *Francis I.* *Charles V.* and *Henry VIII.* (those three great rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many Nobles pursued this vein with great application and success; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a prodigy of learning, if his studies and life had lasted as long as those of the ancients: for I think all of them, that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he died about three and thirty, and left the world in admiration of so much knowledge in so much youth. Since those reigns I have

have not observed, in our modern story, any great Princes much celebrated for their favour of learning, further than to serve their turns, to justify their pretensions and quarrels, or flatter their successes. The honour of Princes has, of late, struck sail to their interest; whereas, of old, their interests, greatness, and conquests were all dedicated to their glory and fame.

How much the studies and labours of learned men must have been damped, for want of this influence and kind aspect of Princes, may be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary, about the *Augustan* age, when the learning of *Rome* was at its height, and perhaps owed it in some degree to the bounty and patronage of that Emperor, and *Mæcenas* his favourite, as well as to the felicity of the empire, and tranquillity of the age.

The humour of avarice, and greediness of wealth, have been ever, and in all countries, where silver and gold have been in price and of current use: but if it be true in particular men, that, as riches increase, the desires of them do so too, may it not be true of the general vein and humour of ages? May they not have turned more to this pursuit of insatiable gains, since the discoveries and plantations of the *West-Indies*, and those vast treasures that have flowed into these *western* parts of *Europe* almost every year, and with such mighty tides for so long a course of time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are so, many desire it; and most in time begin to think it necessary. Where this opinion grows generally in a country, the temples of honour are soon pulled down, and all men's sacrifices are made to those of fortune, the soldier as well as the merchant, the scholar as well as the ploughman, the Divine and the States-man, as well as the lawyer and physician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the world, than that honour is a much stronger principle,
both

both of action and invention, than gain can ever be. That all the great and noble productions of wit and of courage have been inspired and exalted by that alone. That the charming flights and labours of poets, the deep speculations and studies of philosophers, the conquests of Emperors and achievements of heroes, have all flowed from this one source of honour and fame. The last farewell that *Horace* takes of his lyric poems, *Epicurus* of his inventions in philosophy, *Augustus* of his empire and government, are all of the same strain; and as their lives were entertained, so their age was relieved, and their deaths softened, by the prospect of lying down upon the bed of fame.

Avarice is, on the other side, of all passions the most sordid, the most clogged and covered with dirt and with dross, so that it cannot raise its wings beyond the smell of the earth: 'tis the pay of common soldiers, as honour is of commanders; and yet, among those themselves, none ever went so far upon the hopes of prey or of spoils, as those that have been spirited by honour or religion. 'Tis no wonder then, that learning has been so little advanced since it grew to be mercenary, and the progress of it has been fettered by the cares of the world, and disturbed by the desires of being rich, or the fears of being poor; from all which, the ancient *Philosophers*, the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Chaldean Magi*, and *Egyptian Priests* were disintangled and free.

But the last maim given to learning, has been by the scorn of pedantry, which the shallow, the superficial, and the sufficient among scholars first drew upon themselves, and very justly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more esteem than what they had could deserve, by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occasions, and by living so much among themselves, or in their closets and cells, as to make them unfit for all other business, and ridiculous
in

in all other conversations. As an infection, that rises in a town, first falls upon children or weak constitutions, or those that are subject to other diseases, but, spreading further by degrees, seizes upon the most healthy, vigorous and strong; and when the contagion grows very general, all the neighbours avoid coming into the town, or are afraid of those that are well among them, as much as of those that are sick. Just so it fared in the commonwealth of learning, some poor weak constitutions were first infected with pedantry, the contagion spread, in time, upon some that were stronger; foreigners, that heard there was a plague in the country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the sound, as well as of the diseased. This dislike or apprehension turned, like all fear, to hatred, and hatred to scorn. The rest of the neighbours began first to rail at pedants, then to ridicule them; the learned began to fear the same fate, and that the pigeons should be taken for daws, because they were all in a flock: and, because the poorest and meanest of their company were proud, the best and the richest began to be ashamed.

An ingenious *Spaniard* at *Brussels* would needs have it, that the history of *Don Quixote* had ruined the *Spanish* monarchy; for, before that time, love and valour were all romance among them; every young cavalier, that entered the scene, dedicated the services of his life, to his honour first, and then to his Mistress. They lived and died in this romantic vein; and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his last *Portugal* expedition, had a young Mistress, to whom the glory of that achievement was devoted, by which he hoped to value himself, instead of those qualities he had lost with his youth. After *Don Quixote* appeared, and with that inimitable wit and humour turned all this romantic honour and love into ridicule; the *Spaniards*, he said, began to grow ashamed of both, and to laugh at
fighting

fighting and loving, or at least otherwise than to pursue their fortune, or satisfy their lust; and the consequences of this, both upon their bodies and their minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have pass for a great cause of the ruin of *Spain*, or of its greatness and power.

Whatever effect the ridicule of Knight-errantry might have had upon that monarchy, I believe that of pedantry has had a very ill one upon the commonwealth of learning; and I wish the vein of ridiculing all that is serious and good, all honour and virtue, as well as learning and piety; may have no worse effects on any other State: 'tis the itch of our age and climate, and has over-run both the Court and the stage; enters a house of Lords and commons, as boldly as a *coffee-house*, debates of Council as well as private conversation; and, I have known, in my life, more than one or two Ministers of State, that would rather have said a witty thing, than done a wise one; and made the company laugh, rather than the kingdom rejoice. But this is enough to excuse the imperfections of learning in our age, and to censure the sufficiency of some of the learned; and this small piece of justice I have done the ancients will not, I hope, be taken, any more than it is meant, for any injury to the moderns.

I shall conclude with a saying of *Alphonfus* (surnamed the Wise) King of *Arragon*:

That among so many things as are by men possessed or pursued, in the course of their lives, all the rest are bawbles, besides old wood to burn, old wine to drink, old friends to converse with, and old books to read.

UPON THE
Gardens of *EPICURUS*;
OR,
OF GARDENING,
In the Year 1685.

THE same faculty of reason, which gives mankind the great advantage and prerogative over the rest of the creation, seems to make the greatest default of human nature; and subjects it to more troubles, miseries, or at least disquiets of life, than any of its fellow creatures: 'tis this furnishes us with such variety of passions, and consequently of wants and desires, that none other feels; and these followed by infinite designs and endless pursuits, and improved by that restlessness of thought which is natural to most men, give him a condition of life suitable to that of his birth; so that, as he alone is born crying, he lives complaining and dies disappointed.

Since we cannot escape the pursuit of passions, and perplexity of thoughts, which our reason furnishes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all we can, either to subdue or to divert them. This last is the common business of common men, who seek it by all sorts of sports, pleasures, play or business. But, because the two first are of short continuance, soon ending with weariness, or decay of vigour and appetite, the

the return whereof must be attended, before the others can be renewed; and because play grows dull if it be not enlivened with the hopes of gain, the general diversion of mankind seems to be business, or the pursuit of riches in one kind or other; which is an amusement that has this one advantage above all others, that it lasts those men who engage in it to the very ends of their lives: none ever growing too old for the thoughts and desires of increasing his wealth and fortunes, either for himself, his friends, or his posterity.

In the first and most simple ages of each country, the conditions and lives of men seem to have been very near of kin with the rest of the creatures; they lived by the hour, or by the day, and satisfied their appetite with what they could get from the herbs, the fruits, the springs they met with when they were hungry or dry; then, with what fish, fowl, or beasts they could kill, by swiftness or strength, by craft or contrivance, by their hands, or such instruments as wit helped or necessity forced them to invent. When a man had got enough for the day, he laid up the rest for the morrow, and spent one day in labour that he might pass the other at ease; and lured on by the pleasure of this bait, when he was in vigour, and his game fortunate, he would provide for as many days as he could, both for himself and his children, that were too young to seek out for themselves. Then he cast about, how by sowing of grain, and by pasture of the tamer cattle, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the lands necessary for these uses, first among children, and then among servants, he reserved to himself a proportion of their gain, either in the native stock, or something equivalent, which brought in the use of money; and where this once came in none was to be satisfied, without having enough for himself and his family, and all his and their posterity for ever; so that I know

a certain Lord who professes to value no lease, though for an hundred or a thousand years, nor any estate or possession of land, that is not for ever and ever.

From such small beginnings have grown such vast and extravagant designs of poor mortal men: yet none could ever answer the naked *Indian*, why one man should take pains, and run hazards by sea and land all his life, that his children might be safe and lazy all theirs: and the precept of taking no care for to-morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the world, seems but to reduce mankind to their natural and original condition of life. However, by these ways and degrees, the endless increase of riches seems to be grown the perpetual and general amusement, or business of mankind.

Some few in each country make those higher flights after honour and power, and to these ends sacrifice their riches, their labour, their thought, and their lives; and nothing diverts nor busies men more than these pursuits, which are usually covered with the pretences of serving a man's country, and of public good. But the true service of the public is a business of so much labour and so much care, that though a good and wise man may not refuse it, if he be called to it by his Prince or his country, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar use, yet he will seldom or never seek it; but leaves it commonly to men, who, under the disguise of public good, pursue their own designs of wealth, power, and such bastard honours as usually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true reward of virtue.

The pursuits of ambition, though not so general, yet are as endless as those of riches, and as extravagant; since none ever yet thought he had power or empire enough: and what Prince soever seems to be so great, as to live and reign without any further desires or fears, falls into the life of a private man, and enjoys but those

those pleasures and entertainments, which a great many several degrees of private fortune will allow, and as much as human nature is capable of enjoying.

The pleasures of the senses grow a little more choice and refined; those of imagination are turned upon embellishing the scenes he chooses to live in; ease, conveniency, elegance, magnificence, are sought in building first, and then in furnishing houses or palaces; the admirable imitations of nature are introduced by pictures, statues, tapestry, and other such achievements of arts. And the most exquisite delights of sense are pursued, in the contrivance and plantation of gardens; which, with fruits, flowers, shades, fountains, and the music of birds that frequent such happy places, seem to furnish all the pleasures of the several senses, and, with the greatest, or at least the most natural perfections.

Thus the first race of *Assyrian* Kings, after the conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, passed their lives, till their empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, till deposed by their *Mamalukes*. Thus passed the latter parts of those great lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Augustus*, *Dioclesian*. Thus turned the great thoughts of *Henry II.* of *France*, after the end of his wars with *Spain*. Thus the present King of *Morocco*, after having subdued all his competitors, passes his life in a country villa, gives audience in a grove of orange-trees planted among purling streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the successes of his councils or arms, and in the mighty elevation of his present greatness and power, when he gives himself leisure from such designs or pursuits, passes the softer and easier parts of his time in country houses and gardens, in building, planting, or adorning the scenes, or in the common sports and entertainments of such kind of lives. And those mighty Emperors, who contented

not

not themselves with these pleasures of common humanity, fell into the frantic or the extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula* and *Nero*, and too many others known enough in story.

Whilst mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that part of them, who have had either the justice or the luck to pass in common opinion for the wisest and the best part among them, have followed another and very different scent; and instead of the common designs of satisfying their appetites and their passions, and making endless provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and a surer way to the ease and felicity of life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to temper their passions, and reduce their appetites to what nature seems only to ask and to need. And this design seems to have brought philosophy into the world, at least that which is termed moral, and appears to have an end not only desirable by every man, which is the ease and happiness of life, but also in some degree suitable to the force and reach of human nature: for, as to that part of philosophy which is called natural, I know no end it can have, but that of either busying a man's brains to no purpose, or satisfying the vanity so natural to most men of distinguishing themselves, by some way or other, from those that seem their equals in birth, and the common advantages of it; and whether this distinction be made by wealth or power, or appearance of knowledge, which gains esteem and applause in the world, is all a case. More than this, I know no advantage mankind has gained by the progress of natural philosophy, during so many ages it has had vogue in the world, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the mathematics, which is in a manner all that seems valuable among the civilized nations, more than those we call barbarous,

rous, whether they are so or no, or more so than ourselves.

How ancient this natural philosophy has been in the world is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient philosophers in this kind, among the most ancient now extant with us. The first who found out the vanity of it seems to have been *Solomon*, of which discovery he has left such admirable strains in *Ecclesiastes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the business of his life to explode it, and introduce that which we call moral in its place, to busy human minds to better purpose. And indeed, whoever reads with thought what these two, and *Marcus Antoninus*, have said upon the vanity of all that mortal man can ever attain to know of nature, in its originals or operations, may save himself a great deal of pains, and justly conclude, that the knowledge of such things is not our game; and (like the pursuit of a stag by a little spaniel) may serve to amuse and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those three I have named may justly pass for the wisest triumvirate, that are left us upon the records of story or of time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in writing, many sects of philosophers began to spread in *Greece*, who entered boldly upon both parts of natural and moral philosophy. The first with the greatest disagreement, and the most eager contention that could be upon the greatest subjects: as, whether the world were eternal, or produced at some certain time? whether, if produced, it was by some eternal Mind, and to some end, or by the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, or some particles of eternal matter? whether there was one world, or many? whether the soul of man was a part of some etherial and eternal substance, or was corporal? whether, if eternal, it was so before it came into the body, or only after it went out? There were the same contentions about the motions of the heavens, the magnitude

gnitude of the celestial bodies, the faculties of the mind, and the judgment of the senses. But all the different schemes of nature that have been drawn of old, or of late, by *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, *Des Cartes*, *Hobbs*, or any other that I know of, seem to agree but in one thing, which is, the want of demonstration or satisfaction, to any thinking and unpossessed man; and seem more or less probable one than another, according to the wit and eloquence of the authors and advocates that raise or defend them; like jugglers tricks, that have more or less appearance of being real, according to the dextrousness and skill of him that plays 'em; whereas perhaps, if we were capable of knowing truth and nature, these fine schemes would prove like rover shots, some nearer and some further off, but all at great distance from the mark; it may be, none in sight.

Yet, in the midst of these and many other such disputes and contentions in their natural philosophy, they seemed to agree much better in their moral; and, upon their inquiries after the ultimate end of man, which was his happiness, their contentions or differences seemed to be rather in words, than in the sense of their opinions, or in the true meaning of their several authors or masters of their sects: all concluded that happiness was the chief good, and ought to be the ultimate end of man; that, as this was the end of wisdom, so wisdom was the way to happiness. The question then was, in what this happiness consisted? The contention grew warmest between the *Stoics* and *Epicureans*; the other sects, in this point, siding in a manner with one or the other of these in their conceptions or expressions. The *Stoics* would have it to consist in virtue, and the *Epicureans* in pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the *Stoics* made the pleasure of virtue to be the greatest happiness; and the best of the *Epicureans* made the greatest pleasure to consist in virtue; and the

the difference between these two seems not easily discovered. All agreed, the greatest temper, if not the total subduing of passion, and exercise of reason, to be the state of the greatest felicity; to live without desires or fears, or those perturbations of mind and thought, which passions raise; to place true riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much, and true pleasure in temperance, rather than in satisfying the senses; to live with indifference to the common enjoyments and accidents of life, and with constancy upon the greatest blows of fate or of chance; not to disturb our minds with sad reflexions upon what is past, nor with anxious cares or raving hopes about what is to come; neither to disquiet life with the fears of death, nor death with the desires of life; but in both, and in all things else, to follow nature; seem to be the precepts most agreed among them.

Thus reason seems only to have been called in, to allay those disorders which itself had raised, to cure its own wounds, and pretends to make us wise no other way, than by rendering us insensible. This at least was the profession of many rigid *Stoics*, who would have had a wise man, not only without any sort of passion, but without any sense of pain, as well as pleasure; and to enjoy himself in the midst of diseases and torments, as well as of health and ease: a principle, in my mind, against common nature and common sense; and which might have told us in fewer words, or with less circumstance, that a man, to be wise, should not be a man; and this perhaps might have been easy enough to believe, but nothing so hard as the other.

The *Epicureans* were more intelligible in their notion, and fortunate in their expression, when they placed a man's happiness in the tranquillity of mind, and indolence of body; for, while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a share in the good

or ill we feel. As men of several languages say the same things in very different words, so in several ages, countries, constitutions of laws and religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different expressions: what is called by the *Stoics* apathy, or dispassion; by the *Sceptics* indisturbance; by the *Molinists* quietism; by common men, peace of conscience; seems all to mean but great tranquillity of mind, though it be made to proceed from so diverse causes, as human wisdom, innocence of life, or resignation to the will of God. An old usurer had the same notion, when he said, *No man could have peace of conscience, that run out of his estate*; not comprehending what else was meant by that phrase, besides true quiet and content of mind; which, however expressed, is, I suppose, meant by all, to be the best account that can be given of the happiness of man, since no man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondered how such sharp and violent invectives came to be made so generally against *Epicurus*, by the ages that followed him, whose admirable wit, felicity of expression, excellence of nature, sweetness of conversation, temperance of life, and constancy of death, made him so beloved by his friends, admired by his scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this injustice may be fastened chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the *Stoics* at first, then upon the mistakes of some gross pretenders to his sect (who took pleasure only to be sensual) and afterwards, upon the piety of the primitive Christians, who esteemed his principles of natural philosophy more opposite to those of our religion, than either the *Platonists*, the *Peripatetics*, or *Stoics* themselves: yet, I confess, I do not know why the account, given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, should be thought more impious than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only

only subject to all the weakest passions, but perpetually busy in all the worst or meanest actions of men.

But *Epicurus* has found so great advocates of his virtue, as well as learning and inventions, that there need no more; and the testimonies of *Diogenes Laertius* alone seem too sincere and impartial to be disputed, or to want the assistance of modern authors: if all failed, he would be but too well defended by the excellence of so many of his sect in all ages, and especially of those who lived in the compass of one, but the greatest in story, both as to persons and events: I need name no more than *Cæsar*, *Atticus*, *Mæcenas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*; all admirable in their several kinds, and perhaps unparalleled in story.

Cæsar, if considered in all lights, may justly challenge the first place in the registers we have of mankind, equal only to himself, and surpassing all others of his nation and his age, in the virtues and excellencies of a statesman, a captain, an orator, an historian; besides all these, a poet, a philosopher, when his leisure allowed him; the greatest man of counsel and of action, of design and execution; the greatest nobleness of birth, of person, and of countenance; the greatest humanity and clemency of nature, in the midst of the greatest provocations, occasions, and examples of cruelty and revenge: 'tis true, he overturned the laws and constitutions of his country, yet 'twas after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; so as, in what he did, he seems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what himself designed; for, though his ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been raised to those heights, rather by the insolence of his enemies than by his own temper; and that what was natural to him was only a desire of true glory, and to acquire it by good actions as well as great,
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by conquests of barbarous nations, extent of the *Roman* empire; defending at first the liberties of the *Plebeians*, opposing the faction that had begun in *Sylla*, and ended in *Pompey*: and, in the whole course of his victories and successes, seeking all occasions of bounty to his friends, and clemency to his enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the *Romans*; learned without pretending, good without affectation, bountiful without design, a friend to all men in misfortune, a flatterer to no man in greatness or power, a lover of mankind, and beloved by them all; and, by these virtues and dispositions, he passed safe and untouched, through all the flames of civil dissensions, that ravaged his country the greatest part of his life; and, though he never entered into any public affairs, or particular factions of his state, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from *Sylla* to *Augustus*.

Mæcenat was the wisest counsellor, the truest friend, both of his Prince and his country, the best Governor of *Rome*, the happiest and ablest negotiator, the best judge of learning and virtue, the choicest in his friends, and thereby the happiest in his conversation that has been known in story; and, I think, to his conduct in civil, and *Agrippa's* in military affairs, may be truly ascribed all the fortunes and greatness of *Augustus*, so much celebrated in the world.

For *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, they deserve, in my opinion, the honour of the greatest philosophers, as well as the best poets of their nation or age. The two first, besides what looks like something more than human in their poetry, were very great naturalists, and admirable in their morals: and *Horace*, besides the sweetness and elegance of his Lyrics, appears, in the rest of his writings, so great a Master of life, and of true sense in the conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. - It was no mean strain of his philosophy,

to refuse being Secretary to *Augustus*, when so great an Emperor so much desired it. But all the different sects of philosophers seem to have agreed in the opinion of a wise man's abstaining from public affairs, which is thought the meaning of *Pythagoras's* precept, *to abstain from beans*, by which the affairs or public resolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that sort of business too gross and material for the abstracted fineness of their speculations. They esteemed it too sordid and too artificial for the cleanness and simplicity of their manners and lives. They would have no part in the faults of a government; and they knew too well, that the nature and passions of men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good; and therefore thought all the service, they could do to the state they lived under, was to mend the lives and manners of particular men that composed it. But, where factions were once entered and rooted in a State, they thought it madness for good men to meddle with public affairs; which made them turn their thoughts and entertainments to any thing rather than this: and *Heraclitus*, having, upon the factions of the citizens, quitted the government of his city, and amusing himself to play with the boys in the porch of the temple, asked those who wondered at him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with such boys, than govern such men?* But above all, they esteemed public business the most contrary of all others to that tranquillity of mind, which they esteemed and taught to be the only true felicity of man.

For this reason *Epicurus* passed his life wholly in his garden; there he studied, there he exercised, there he taught his philosophy; and indeed, no other sort of abode seems to contribute so much, to both the tranquillity of mind, and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. The sweetness of air, the pleasantness of smell, the verdure of plants, the cleanliness

ness and lightness of food, the exercises of working or walking; but above all, the exemption from cares and solicitude, seem equally to favour and improve both contemplation and health, the enjoyment of sense and imagination, and thereby the quiet and ease both of the body and mind.

Though *Epicurus* be said to have been the first that had a garden in *Athens*, whose citizens before him had theirs in their villa's or farms without the city; yet the use of gardens seems to have been the most ancient and most general of any sorts of possession among mankind, and to have preceded those of corn or of cattle, as yielding the easier, the pleasanter, and more natural food. As it has been the inclination of Kings, and the choice of philosophers, so it has been the common favourite of public and private men; a pleasure of the greatest, and the care of the meanest; and indeed an employment and a possession, for which no man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was the state of innocence and pleasure; and that the life of husbandry and cities came after the fall, with guilt and with labour.

Where paradise was has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a *Persian* word, since *Xenophon* and other *Greek* authors mention it, as what was much in use and delight among the Kings of those eastern countries. *Sirabo*, describing *Jericho*, says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixtae sunt etiam aliae stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est Regi et Balsami paradisus.* He mentions another place to be *prope Libanum et Paradisum.* And *Alexan-*
der

der is written to have seen *Cyrus's* tomb in a paradise, being a tower not very great, and covered with a shade of trees about it. So that a paradise among them seems to have been a large space of ground, adorned and beautified with all sorts of trees, both of fruits and of forest, either found there before it was inclosed, or planted after; either cultivated like gardens, for shades and for walks, with fountains or streams, and all sorts of plants usual in the climate, and pleasant to the eye, the smell, or the taste; or else employed, like our parks, for inclosure and harbour of all sorts of wild beasts, as well as for the pleasure of riding and walking: and so they were of more or less extent, and of differing entertainment, according to the several humours of the Princes that ordered and inclosed them.

Semiramis is the first we are told of in story, that brought them in use through her empire, and was so fond of them, as to make one where-ever she built, and in all, or most of the provinces she subdued; which are said to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India*. The *Assyrian* Kings continued this custom and care, or rather this pleasure, till one of them brought in the use of smaller and more regular gardens: for having married a wife he was fond of, out of one of the provinces, where such paradises or gardens were much in use, and the country Lady not well bearing the air or inclosure of the palace in *Babylon* to which the *Assyrian* Kings used to confine themselves; he made her gardens, not only within the palaces, but upon terrasses raised with earth, over the arched roofs, and even upon the top of the highest tower, planted them with all sorts of fruit-trees, as well as other plants and flowers, the most pleasant of that country; and thereby made at least the most airy gardens, as well as the most costly, that have been heard of in the world. This Lady may probably have been native

tive of the provinces of *Chafmir*, or of *Damascus*; which have in all times been the happiest regions for fruits of all the *East*, by the excellence of soil, the position of mountains, the frequency of streams, rather than the advantages of climate. And 'tis great pity we do not yet see the history of *Chafmir*, which *Monsieur Bernier* assured me he had translated out of *Persian*, and intended to publish; and of which he has given such a taste, in his excellent *Memoirs of the Mogul's country*.

The next gardens we read of are those of *Solomon*, planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, and watered with fountains; and, though we have no more particular description of them, yet we may find, they were the places where he passed the times of his leisure and delight, where the houses as well as grounds were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the retreats and entertainments of those among his wives that he loved the best; and 'tis not improbable, that the paradises, mentioned by *Strabo*, were planted by this great and wisest King. But the idea of the garden must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the gardener, who must have employed a great deal of his care, and of his study, as well as of his leisure and thought, in these entertainments, since he writ of all plants, from the cedar to the shrub.

What the gardens of the *Hesperides* were, we have little or no account, further than the mention of them, and thereby the testimony of their having been in use and request, in such remoteness of place, and antiquity of time.

The garden of *Alcinous*, described by *Homer*, seems wholly poetical, and made at the pleasure of the painter; like the rest of the romantic palace, in that little barren island of *Phæacia* or *Corfu*. Yet, as all the pieces of this transcendent genius are composed with excellent knowledge

knowledge, as well as fancy ; so they seldom fail of instruction as well as delight, to all that read him. The seat of this garden, joining to the gates of the palace, the compass of the inclosure being four acres, the tall trees of shade, as well as those of fruit, the two fountains, the one for the use of the garden, and the other of the palace, the continual succession of fruits throughout the whole year, are, for aught I know, the best rules or provisions that can go towards composing the best gardens ; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this picture after the life of some he had seen in *Ionia*, the country and usual abode of this divine poet ; and indeed, the region of the most refined pleasures and luxury, as well as invention and wit : for the humour and custom of gardens may have descended earlier into the lower *Asia*, from *Damascus*, *Assyria*, and other parts of the eastern empires, though they seem to have made late entrance, and smaller improvement in those of *Greece* and *Rome* ; at least in no proportion to their other inventions or refinements of pleasure and luxury.

The long and flourishing peace of the two first empires gave earlier rise and growth to learning and civility, and all the consequences of them, in magnificence and elegance of building and gardening ; whereas *Greece* and *Rome* were almost perpetually engaged in quarrels and wars, either abroad or at home, and so were busy in actions that were done under the sun, rather than those under the shade. These were the entertainments of the softer nations, that fell under the virtue and prowess of the two last empires, which from those conquests brought home mighty increases both of riches and luxury, and so perhaps lost more than they got by the spoils of the *East*.

There may be another reason for the small advance of gardening in those excellent and more temperate climates, where the air and soil were so apt of them-

selves to produce the best sorts of fruits, without the necessity of cultivating them by labour and care; whereas the hotter climates, as well as the cold, are forced upon industry and skill, to produce or improve many fruits that grow of themselves in the more temperate regions. However it were, we have very little mention of gardens in old *Greece*, or in old *Rome*, for pleasure or with elegance, nor of much curiousness or care, to introduce the fruits of foreign climates, contenting themselves with those which were native of their own; and these were the vine, the olive, the fig, the pear, and the apple: *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no more; and their gardens were then but the necessary part of their farms, intended particularly for the cheap and easy food of their hinds or slaves employed in their agriculture, and so were turned chiefly to all the common sorts of plants, herbs, or legumes (as the *French* call them) proper for common nourishment; and the name of *hortus* is taken to be from *ortus*, because it perpetually furnishes some rise or production of something new in the world.

Lucullus, after the *Mithridatic* war, first brought cherries from *Pontus* into *Italy*, which so generally pleased, and were so easily propagated in all climates, that within the space of about an hundred years, having travelled westward with the *Roman* conquests, they grew common as far as the *Rhine*, and passed over into *Britain*. After the conquest of *Afric*, *Greece*, the lesser *Asia*, and *Syria*, were brought into *Italy* all the sorts of their *mala*, which we interpret apples, and might signify no more at first, but were afterwards applied to many other foreign fruits: the apricocks, coming from *Epire*, were called *mala Epirotica*; peaches from *Persia*, *mala Persica*; citrons of *Media*, *Medica*; pomegranates from *Carthage*, *Punica*; quinces, *Cathonea*, from a small island in the *Grecian* seas; their best pears were brought from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece*

Greece, and *Numantia*; as appears by their several appellations: their plumbs, from *Armenia*, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damascus*. The kinds of these are reckoned, in *Nero's* time, to have been near thirty, as well as of figs; and many of them were entertained at *Rome* with so great applause, and so general vogue, that the great Captains, and even consular men, who first brought them over, took pride in giving them their own names, (by which they run a great while in *Rome*) as in memory of some great service or pleasure they had done their country; so that not only laws and battles, but several sorts of apples or *mala*, and of pears, were called *Manlian* and *Claudian*, *Pompeian* and *Tiberian*; and by several other such noble names.

Thus the fruits of *Rome*, in about an hundred years, came from countries as far as their conquests had reached; and like learning, architecture, painting, and statuary, made their great advances in *Italy*, about the *Augustan* age. What was of most request in their common gardens in *Virgil's* time, or at least in his youth, may be conjectured by the description of his old *Corycian's* gardens in the fourth of the *Georgics*; which begins,

Namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus altis.

Among flowers, the roses had the first place, especially a kind which bore twice a-year; and none other sorts are here mentioned besides the *Narcissus*, though the violet and the lily were very common; and the next in esteem; especially the *breve lilium*, which was the *tuberoſe*. The plants he mentions are the *apium*, which, though commonly interpreted *parsly*, yet comprehends all sorts of ſmallage, whereof ſellery is one; *cucumis*, which takes in all sorts of melons, as well as *cucumbers*; *olus*, which is a common word, for all sorts of pot-herbs and legumes; *verbenas* which

which signifies all kinds of sweet or sacred plants that were used for adorning the altars; as bays, olive, rosemary, myrtle: the *acanthus* seems to be what we call *pericantbe*; but what their *bederæ* were, that deserved place in a garden, I cannot guess, unless they had sorts of ivy unknown to us; nor what his *vescum papaver* was, since poppies with us are of no use in eating. The fruits mentioned are only apples, pears, and plumbs; for olives, vines, and figs, were grown to be fruits of their fields, rather than of their gardens. The shades were the elm, the pine, the lime-tree, and the *platanus*, or plane-tree: whose leaf and shade, of all others, was the most in request; and, having been brought out of *Persia*, was such an inclination among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they usually fed it with wine instead of water; they believed this tree loved that liquor, as well as those that used to drink under its shade; which was a great humour and custom, and perhaps gave rise to the other, by observing the growth of the tree, or largeness of the leaves, where much wine was spilt or left, and thrown upon the roots.

'Tis great pity the haste, which *Virgil* seems here to have been in, should have hindered him from entering farther into the account or instructions of gardening, which he said he could have given, and which he seems to have so much esteemed and loved, by that admirable picture of this old man's felicity, which he draws like so great a Master, with one stroke of a pencil in those four words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midst of these small possessions, upon a few acres of barren ground, yet he equalled all the wealth and opulence of Kings, in the ease, content, and freedom of his mind.

I am not satisfied with the common acceptation of the *mala aurea*, for oranges; nor do I find any passage in the authors of that age, which gives me the opinion, that these were otherwise known to the *Romans* than as fruits of the *eastern* climates. I should take their *mala aurea* to be rather some kind of apples, so called from the golden colour, as some are amongst us; for otherwise, the orange-tree is too noble in the beauty, taste, and smell of its fruit; in the perfume and virtue of its flowers; in the perpetual verdure of its leaves, and in the excellent uses of all these, both for pleasure and health; not to have deserved any particular mention in the writings of an age and nation, so refined and exquisite in all sorts of delicious luxury.

The charming description, *Virgil* makes of the happy apple, must be intended either for the citron, or for some sort of orange growing in *Media*, which was either so proper to that country, as not to grow in any other, (as a certain sort of fig was to *Damascus*) or to have lost its virtue by changing soils, or to have had its effect of curing some sort of poison that was usual in that country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inserting those few lines out of the second of *Virgil's* Georgics, not having ever heard any body else take notice of them.

*Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
 Felicis mali; quo non præsentius ullum,
 Pocula si quando sævæ infecere novercæ,
 Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena;
 Ipsa ingens arbor, faciemque simillima lauro;
 Et, si non alios late jactaret odores,
 Laurus erit: folia baud ullis labentia ventis;
 Flos apprima tenax: animas et olentia Medi
 Ora fovent illo, ac senibus medicantur anbellis.*

Media

Media brings pois'nous herbs, and the flat taste
 Of the blest'd apple, than which ne'er was found
 A help more present, when curs'd step-dames mix
 Their mortal cups, to drive the venom out.
 'Tis a large tree, and like a bay's in hue;
 And, did it not such odours cast about,
 'Twou'd be a bays; the leaves with no winds fall,
 The flowers all excel: with these the Medes
 Perfume their breaths, and cure old purisy men.

The tree being so like a bays or laurel, the flow or dull taste of the apple, the virtue of it against poison, seem to describe the citron. The perfume of the flowers and virtues of them, to cure ill scents of mouth or breath, or shortness of wind in purisy old men, seem to agree most with the orange: if *flos apprima tenax* mean only the excellence of the flower above all others, it may be intended for the orange: if it signifies the flowers growing most upon the tops of the trees, it may be rather the citron; for I have been so curious as to bring up a citron from a kernel, which at twelve years of age began to flower; and I observed all the flowers to grow upon the top branches of the tree, but to be nothing so high or sweet-scented, as the orange. On the other side, I have always heard oranges to pass for a cordial juice, and a great preservative against the plague, which is a sort of venom; so that I know not to which of these we are to ascribe this lovely picture of the happy apple; but I am satisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time, or long after, though the fruit be now so frequent there in fields (at least in some parts) and make so common and delicious a part of gardening, even in these northern climates.

'Tis certain those noble fruits, the citron, the orange, and the lemon, are the native product of those noble

noble regions, *Affyria*, *Media*, and *Persia*; and, though they have been from thence transplanted and propagated in many parts of *Europe*, yet they have not arrived at such perfection in beauty, taste, or virtue, as in their native soil and climate. This made it generally observed among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that the fruits of the *East* far excelled those of the *West*. And several writers have trifled away their time in deducing the reasons of this difference, from the more benign or powerful influences of the rising sun. But there is nothing more evident to any man that has the least knowledge of the globe, and gives himself leave to think, than the folly of such wise reasons, since the regions, that are *East* to us, are *West* to some others; and the sun rises alike to all that lie in the same latitude, with the same heat and virtue upon its first approaches, as well as in its progress. Besides, if the *eastern* fruits were the better only for that position of climate, then those of *India* should excel those of *Persia*; which we do not find by comparing the accounts of those countries: but *Affyria*, *Media*, and *Persia*, have been ever esteemed, and will be ever found the true regions of the best and noblest fruits in the world. The reason of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper soil, being there extended under the best climate for the production of all sorts of the best fruits; which seems to be from about twenty five, to about thirty five degrees of latitude. Now the regions under this climate in the present *Persian* empire (which comprehends most of the other two, called anciently *Affyria* and *Media*) are composed of many Provinces full of great and fertile plains, bounded by high mountains, especially to the *North*; watered naturally with many rivers, and those, by art and labour, derived into many more and smaller streams, which all conspire to form a country, in all circumstances, the most proper and agreeable for production of the best

best and noblest fruits. Whereas if we survey the regions of the *western* world, lying in the same latitude between twenty five and thirty five degrees, we shall find them extend either over the *Mediterranean* sea, the ocean, or the sandy barren countries of *Africa*; and that no part of the continent of *Europe* lies so *southward* as thirty five degrees. Which may serve to discover the true genuine reason, why the fruits of the *East* have been always observed and agreed to transcend those of the *West*.

In our *north-west* climates, our gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in those regions in *Spain* or the *southern* parts of *France*. And as most general customs in countries grow from the different nature of climate, soils, or situations, and from the necessities or industry they impose, so do these.

In the warmer regions, fruits and flowers of the best sorts are so common and of so easy production, that they grow in fields, and are not worth the cost of inclosing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other side, the great pleasures of those climates are coolness of air, and whatever looks cool even to the eyes, and relieves them from the unpleasant sight of dusty streets, or parched fields. This makes the gardens of those countries to be chiefly valued by largeness of extent (which gives greater play and openness of air) by shades of trees, by frequency of living streams, or fountains, by perspectives, by statues, and by pillars and obelisks of stone scattered up and down, which all conspire to make any place look fresh and cool. On the contrary, the more *northern* climates, as they offer little by heat, make little provision against it, and are careless of shade, and seldom curious in fountains. Good statues are in the reach of few men, and common ones are generally and justly despised or neglected. But no sorts of good
fruits

fruits or flowers, being natives of the climates, or usual among us; (nor indeed the best sort of plants, herbs, salads for our kitchen-gardens themselves) and the best fruits not ripening without the advantage of walls or palisadoes, by reflexion of the faint heat we receive from the sun, our gardens are made of smaller compass, seldom exceeding four, six, or eight acres; inclosed with walls, and laid out, in a manner, wholly for advantage of fruits, flowers, and the product of kitchen-gardens in all sorts of herbs, salads, plants, and legumes, for the common use of tables.

These are usually the gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the first sort are those of *Italy*, and were so of old. In the more temperate parts of *France*, and in *Brabant* (where I take gardening to be at its greatest height) they are composed of both sorts, the extent more spacious than ours; part laid out for flowers, others for fruits; some standards, some against walls or palisadoes, some for forest-trees and groves for shade, some parts wild, some exact; and fountains much in request among them.

But after so much ramble into ancient times, and remote places, to return home and consider the present way and humour of our gardening in *England*; which seem to have grown into such vogue, and to have been so mightily improved in three or four and twenty years of his Majesty's reign, that perhaps few countries are before us, either in the elegance of our gardens, or in the number of our plants; and, I believe, none equals us in the variety of fruits, which may be justly called good; and from the earliest cherry and strawberry, to the last apples and pears, may furnish every day of the circling year. For the taste and perfection of what we esteem the best, I may truly say, that the *French*, who have eaten my peaches and grapes at *Shene*, in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the last are as good as any they have eaten in *France*,

on this side *Fountainbleau*; and the first as good as any they have eat in *Gascony*; I mean those which come from the stone, and are properly called peaches, not those which are hard, and are termed paxies; for these cannot grow in too warm a climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at *Madrid*, than in *Gascony* itself: *Italians* have agreed, my white figs to be as good as any of that sort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of white fig there; for in the latter kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm climates, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muscat* grapes.

My orange-trees are as large as any I saw when I was young in *France*, except those of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have seen since in the *Low Countries*, except some very old ones of the Prince of *Oranges's*; as laden with flowers as any can well be, as full of fruit as I suffer or desire them, and as well tasted as are commonly brought over, except the best sorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but say, in defence of our climate, which is so much and so generally decried abroad, by those who never saw it; or, if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it, than what belongs to inns, or to taverns and ordinaries; who accuse our country for their own defaults, and speak ill, not only of our gardens and houses, but of our humours, our breeding, our customs and manners of life, by what they have observed of the meaner and baser sort of mankind; and of company among us, because they wanted themselves, perhaps, either fortune or birth, either quality or merit, to introduce them among the good.

I must needs add one thing more in favour of our climate, which I heard the King say, and I thought new and right, and truly like a King of *England*, that loved and esteemed his own country: 'twas in reply to some of the company that were reviling our climate,

mate, and extolling those of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at least of *France*: he said, he thought that was the best climate, where he could be abroad in the air with pleasure, or at least without trouble and inconvenience, the most days of the year, and the most hours of the day; and this he thought he could be in *England*, more than in any country he knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the hot and the cold, but even among our neighbours in *France*, and the *Low-Countries* themselves; where the heats or the colds, and changes of seasons, are less treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our climate wants no heat to produce excellent fruits; and the default of it is only the short season of our heats or summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us. But all such, as are ripe before the end of *August*, are, for aught I know, as good with us as any where else. This makes me esteem the true region of gardens in *England*, to be the compass of ten miles about *London*; where the accidental warmth of air, from the fires and steams of so vast a town, makes fruits, as well as corn, a great deal forwarder than in *Hampshire* or *Wiltshire*, though more *southward* by a full degree.

There are, besides the temper of our climate, two things particular to us, that contribute much to the beauty and elegance of our gardens, which are the gravel of our walks, and the fineness and almost perpetual greenness of our turf. The first is not known any where else, which leaves all their dry walks, in other countries, very unpleasant and uneasy. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the soil not admitting that fineness of blade in *Holland*, nor the sun that greenness in *France*, during most of the summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the finest of our soils.

Whoever

Whoever begins a garden, ought, in the first place and above all, to consider the soil, upon which the taste of not only his fruits, but his legumes, and even herbs and salads, will wholly depend; and the default of soil is without remedy: for, although all borders of fruit may be made with what earth you please (if you will be at the charge) yet it must be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the ground where it is brought. Old trees spread their roots further than any body's care extends, or the forms of the garden will allow; and, after all, where the soil about you is ill, the air is so too in a degree, and has influence upon the taste of fruit. What *Horace* says of the productions of kitchen-gardens, under the name of *caulis*, is true of all the best sorts of fruits, and may determine the choice of soil for all gardens.

*Caule suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris
Dulcior; irriguis nihil est elutius hortis.*

*Plants from dry fields those of the town excel;
Nothing more tasteless is than watered grounds.*

Any man had better throw away his care and his money upon any thing else, than upon a garden in wet or moist ground. Peaches and grapes will have no taste but upon a sand or gravel; but the richer these are, the better; and neither salads, pease, or beans, have at all the taste upon a clay or rich earth, as they have upon either of the others, though the size and colour of fruits and plants may, perhaps, be more upon the worse soils.

Next to your choice of soil, is to suit your plants to your ground, since of this every one is not master; though perhaps *Varro's* judgment, upon this case, is the wisest and the best; for to one that asked him, what

what he should do if his father or ancestors had left him a seat in an ill air, or upon an ill soil? He answered, why sell it, and buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the worth? Why, then take a quarter; but however sell it for any thing, rather than live upon it.

Of all sorts of soil, the best is that upon a sandy gravel, or a rosiny sand; whoever lies upon either of these may run boldly into all the best sort of peaches and grapes, how shallow soever the turf be upon them; and whatever other tree will thrive in these soils, the fruits shall be of a much finer taste than any other: a richer soil will do well enough for apricots, plums, pears, or figs; but still the more of the sand in your earth the better, and the worse the more of the clay, which is proper for oaks, and no other tree that I know of.

Fruits should be suited to the climate among us, as well as the soil; for there are degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little purpose to plant any of the best fruits; as peaches or grapes, hardly I doubt, beyond *Northamptonshire*, at the furthest *northwards*: and I thought it very prudent in a Gentleman of my friends in *Staffordshire*, who is a great lover of his garden, to pretend no higher, though his soil be good enough, than to the perfection of plumbs; and in these (by bestowing *south* walls upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could never have done in attempts upon peaches and grapes; and a good plumb is certainly better than an ill peach.

When I was at *Cosevelt*, with that Bishop of *Munster* that made so much noise in his time, I observed no other trees but cherries in a great garden he had made. He told me the reason was, because he found no other fruit would ripen well in that climate, or upon that soil; and therefore, instead of being curious in others, he had only been so in the sorts of that, whereof he had

had so many, as never to be without them from *May* to the end of *September*.

As to the size of a garden, which will perhaps, in time, grow extravagant among us, I think from four or five, to seven or eight acres, is as much as any Gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occasion to use in his family.

In every garden, four things are necessary to be provided for, flowers, fruit, shade, and water; and whoever lays out a garden, without all these, must not pretend it in any perfection: it ought to lie to the best parts of the house, or to those of the master's commonest use, so as to be but like one of the rooms out of which you step into another. The part of your garden next your house (besides the walks that go round it) should be a parterre for flowers, or grass-plots bordered with flowers; or if, according to the newest mode, it be cast all into grass-plots and gravel walks, the driness of these should be relieved with fountains; and the plainness of those with statues; otherwise, if large, they have an ill effect upon the eye. However, the part next the house should be open, and no other fruit but upon the walls. If this take up one half of the garden, the other should be fruit-trees, unless some grove for shade lie in the middle. If it take up a third part only, then the next third may be dwarf-trees, and the last standard-fruit; or else the second part fruit-trees, and the third all sorts of winter-greens, which provide for all seasons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of flowers, having only pleased myself with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled myself with the care, which is more the Ladies part than the men's; but the success is wholly in the gardener. For fruits, the best we have in *England*, or I believe, can ever hope for, are, of peaches, the *white* and *red maudlin*, the *minion*, the *chevereuse*,

chevereuse; the *ramboullet*, the *musk*, the *admirable*, which is late; all the rest are either varied by names, or not to be named with these, nor worth troubling a garden in my opinion. Of the *pavies* or hard peaches, I know none good here but the *newington*, nor will that easily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward peaches are to be esteemed only, because they are early, but should find room in a good garden, at least the white and brown nutmeg, the *Persian*, and the violet musk. The only good nectarins are the *murry* and the *French*; of those there are two sorts, one very round, and the other something long, but the round is the best: of the *murry* there are several sorts, but, being all hard, they are seldom well ripened with us.

Of grapes, the best are the *chasselas*, which is the better sort of our white muscadine (as the usual name was about *Sheen*;) 'tis called the pearl-grape, and ripens well enough in common years, but not so well as the common black, or currant, which is something a worse grape. The *parisly* is good, and proper enough to our climate; but all white *frontiniacs* are difficult, and seldom ripe unless in extraordinary summers.

I have had the honour of bringing over four sorts into *England*; the *arboyse* from the *Franche Comte*, which is a small white grape, or rather runs into some small and some great upon the same bunch; it agrees well with our climate, but is very choice in soil, and must have a sharp gravel; it is the most delicious of all grapes that are not muscat. The *Burgundy*, which is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is surest to ripen in our climate, so that I have never known them to fail one summer these fifteen years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an east wall. A black muscat, which is called the *dowager*, and ripens as well as the common white grape. And the fourth is the *grizelin frontignac*, being of that colour, and the highest of that taste, and the noblest of all grapes

grapes I ever eat in *England*; but requires the hottest wall and the sharpest gravel; and must be favoured by the summer too, to be very good. All these are, I suppose, by this time, pretty common among some gardeners in my neighbourhood, as well as several persons of quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of figs there are among us the white, the blue, and the tawny; the last is very small, bears ill, and I think but a bawble. Of the blue there are two or three sorts, but little different, one something longer than the other; but that kind, which swells most, is ever the best. Of the white I know but two sorts, and both excellent, one ripe in the beginning of *July*, the other in the end of *September*, and is yellower than the first; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raise, though an excellent fruit.

Of apricocks, the best are the common old sort, and the largest masculin; of which this last is much improved by budding upon a peach stock. I esteem none of this fruit but the *Brussel's* apricock, which grows a standard, and is one of the best fruits we have; and which I first brought over among us.

The number of good pears, especially summer, is very great, but the best are the blanquet, robin, rouffelet, rosati, fans, pepin, jargonel. Of the autumn, the buree, the vertelongue, and the bergamot. Of the winter, the vergoluz, chasseray, *St. Michael*, *St. Germain*, and ambret: I esteem the bon-cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of plumbs, the best are *St. Julian*, *St. Catharine*, white and blue pedrigon, queen-mother, sheen-plumb, and cheston.

Beyond the sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himself, but multiply these rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this register,

register, having been so often desired it by my friends upon their designs of gardening.

I need say nothing of apples, being so well known among us; but the best of our climate, and I believe of all others, is the golden pippin; and for all sorts of uses: the next is the Kentish pippin; but these I think are as far from their perfection with us as grapes, and yield to those of *Normandy*, as these to those in *Anjou*, and even these to those in *Gascony*. In other fruits the defect of sun is in a great measure supplied by the advantage of walls.

The next care to that of suiting trees with the soil, is that of suiting fruits to the position of walls, grapes, peaches, and winter-pears, to be good, must be planted upon full *south*, or *south-east*; figs are best upon *south-east*, but will do well upon *east* and *south-west*: the *west* are proper for cherries, plumbs, or apricocks; but all of them are improved by a *south* wall both as to early and taste: *north*, *north-west*, or *north-east*, deserve nothing but greens; these should be divided by woodbines or jessamins between every green, and the other walls, by a vine between every fruit-tree; the best sorts upon the *south* walls, the common white and black upon *east* and *west*, because the other trees being many of them (especially peaches) very transitory; some apt to die with hard winters, others to be cut down and make room for new fruits: without this method the walls are left for several years unfurnished; whereas the vines on each side cover the void space in one summer, and, when the other trees are grown, make only a pillar between them of two or three foot broad.

Whoever would have the best fruits, in the most perfection our climate will allow, should not only take care of giving them, as much sun, but also as much air as he can; no tree, unless dwarf, should be suffered to grow within forty foot of your best walls, but

the farther they lie open is still the better. Of all others, this care is most necessary in vines, which are observed abroad to make the best wines, where they lie upon sides of hills, and so most exposed to the air and the winds. The way of pruning them too is best learned from the vineyards, where you see nothing in winter, but what looks like a dead stump; and upon our walls they should be left but like a ragged staff, not above two or three eyes at most upon the bearing branches; and, the lower the vine and fewer the branches, the grapes will be still the better.

The best figure of a garden is either a square or an oblong, and either upon a flat or a descent; they have all their beauties, but the best I esteem an oblong upon a descent. The beauty, the air, the view makes amends for the expence, which is very great in finishing and supporting the terras-walks, in levelling the parterres, and in the stone-stairs that are necessary from one to the other.

The perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of *Moor-Park* in *Hertfordshire*, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Countess of *Bedford*, esteemed among the greatest wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor *Donne*; and with very great care, excellent contrivance, and much cost; but greater sums may be thrown away without effect or honour, if there want sense in proportion to money, or if nature be not followed; which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in every thing else, as far as the conduct not only of our lives, but our governments. And whether the greatest of mortal men should attempt the forcing of nature may best be judged, by observing how seldom God Almighty does it himself, by so few, true, and undisputed miracles, as we see or hear of in the world. For my own part, I know not three wi-
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fer precepts for the conduct either of Princes or private men, than

———*Servare modum, finemque tueri,
Naturamque sequi.*

Because I take the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the most beautiful and perfect, at least in the figure and disposition, that I have ever seen, I will describe it for a model to those that meet with such a situation, and are above the regards of common expence. It lies on the side of a hill, (upon which the house stands) but not very steep. The length of the house, where the best rooms and of most use or pleasure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden, the great parlour opens into the middle of a terras gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad in proportion; the border set with standard laurels, and at large distances, which have the beauty of orange-trees out of flower and fruit: from this walk are three descents by many stone-steps, in the middle and at each end, into a very large parterre. This is divided into quarters by gravel walks, and adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters; at the end of the terras-walk are two summer-houses, and the sides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloisters, open to the garden, upon arches of stone, and ending with two other summer-houses even with the cloisters, which are paved with stone, and designed for walks of shade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over these two cloisters are two terrasses covered with lead, and fenced with balusters; and the passage into these airy walks is out of the two summer houses, at the end of the first terras-walk. The cloister facing the *South* is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an

an orange-house, and the other for myrtles, or other more common greens; and had, I doubt not, been cast for that purpose, if this piece of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

From the middle of the parterre is a descent by many steps flying on each side of a grotto that lies between them (covered with lead, and flat) into the lower garden, which is all fruit-trees ranged about the several quarters of a wilderness which is very shady; the walks here are all green, the grotto embellished with figures of shell-rock-work, fountains, and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens; but this want is supplied by a garden on the other side the house, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough rock-work and fountains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest place, I think, that I have seen in my life, either before or since, at home or abroad; what it is now, I can give little account, having passed through several hands that have made great changes in gardens as well as houses; but the remembrance of what it was is too pleasant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have mistaken the figure of it, which may serve for a pattern to the best gardens of our manner, and that are most proper for our country and climate.

What I have said, of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall

shall yet, upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineses*; a people, whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged so as to answer one another, and at exact distances. The *Chineses* scorn this way of planting, and say, a boy, that can tell an hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines, and over-against one another, and to what length and extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed: and, though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it; and, where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the *Sbarawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem. And whoever observes the work upon the best *Indian* gowns, or the painting upon their best skreens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order. But I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us; they are adventures of too hard achievement for any common hands; and, though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and 'tis twenty to one they will; whereas, in regular figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable faults.

The picture I have met with in some relations of a garden made by a *Dutch* Governor of their colony, upon the cape de *bonne Esperance*, is admirable, and described to be of an oblong figure, very large extent and divided into four quarters, by long and cross walks, ranged

ranged with all sorts of orange-trees, lemons, limes, and citrons; each of these four quarters is planted with the trees, fruits, flowers, and plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the world; so as in this one inclosure are to be found the several gardens of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Afric*, and *America*. There could not be, in my mind, a greater thought of a gardener, nor a nobler idea of a garden, nor better suited or chosen for the climate, which is about thirty degrees, and may pass for the *Hesperides* of our age, whatever or where-ever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the islands or continent upon the *South-west* of *Africa*, but what their forms or their fruits were, none, that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their golden apples were for taste, or only for sight, as those of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large trees, with stocks, branches, leaves, and fruits, all admirably composed and wrought of gold; but this was only stupenduous in cost and art, and answers not at all, in my opinion, the delicious varieties of nature in other gardens.

What I have said, of gardening, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, so as to make no great faults, nor be much imposed upon in the designs of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all countries. That and building being a sort of creation, that raise beautiful fabrics and figures out of nothing, that make the convenience and pleasure of all private habitations, that employ many hands, and circulate much money among the poorer sort and artificers, that are a public service to one's country, by the example as well as effect, which adorn the scene, improve the earth, and even the air itself in some degree. The rest, that belongs to this subject, must be a gardener's part; upon whose skill, diligence, and care, the beauty of the grounds and excellence of the fruits will much depend. Though
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if the soil and sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the walls, the ignorance or carelessness of the servants can hardly leave the master disappointed.

I will not enter further upon his trade, than by three short directions or advices: first, in all plantations, either for his master or himself, to draw his trees out of some nursery that is upon a leaner and lighter soil than his own where he removes them; without this care they will not thrive in several years, perhaps never; and must make way for new, which should be avoided all that can be; for life is too short and uncertain, to be renewing often your plantations. The walls of your garden, without their furniture, look as ill as those of your house; so that you cannot dig up your garden too often, nor too seldom cut them down.

The second is, in all trees you raise, to have some regard to the stock, as well as the graft or bud; for the first will have a share in giving taste and season to the fruits it produces, how little soever it is usually observed by our gardeners. I have found grafts of the same tree, upon a bon-cretien-stock, bring chasseray pears, that lasted till *March*, but with a rind green and rough: and others, upon a metre-john-stock, with a smooth and yellow skin, which were rotten in *November*. I am apt to think, all the difference between the *St. Michael* and the ambrette pear (which has puzzled our gardeners) is only what comes from this variety of the stocks; and by this, perhaps, as well as by raising from stones and kernels, most of the new fruits are produced every age. So the grafting a crab upon a white thorn brings the lazarolli, a fruit esteemed at *Rome*, though I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the cidrato (or hermaphrodite) came from budding a citron upon an orange. The best peaches are raised by buds of the best fruits upon

upon stocks, growing from stones of the best peaches; and so the best apples and pears, from the best kinds grafted upon stocks, from kernels also of the best sorts, with respect to the season, as well as beauty and taste. And I believe so many excellent winter-pears, as have come into *France* since forty years, may have been found out by grafting summer pears of the finest taste and most water, upon winter-stocks.

The third advice is, to take the greatest care and pains in preserving your trees from the worst disease, to which those of the best fruits are subject in the best soils, and upon the best walls. 'Tis what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to observe it by the experience of my gardens, though I have since met with it in books both ancient and modern. I found my vines, peaches, apricocks, and plumbs upon my best south walls, and sometimes upon my west, apt for several years to a foot, or smuttiness upon their leaves first, and then upon their fruits, which were good for nothing the years they were so affected. My orange-trees were likewise subject to it, and never prospered while they were so; and I have known some collections quite destroyed by it. But I cannot say that ever I found either my figs or pears infected with it, nor any trees upon my east-walls, though I do not well conjecture at the reason. The rest were so spoiled with it, that I complained to several of the oldest and best gardeners of *England*, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the same misfortune, and esteemed it some blight of the spring. I observed after some years, that the diseased trees had very frequent, upon their stocks and branches, a small insect of a dark brown colour, figured like a shield, and about the size of a large wheat-corn; they stuck close to the bark, and in many places covered it, especially about the joints: in winter they are dry, and thin-shelled, but in spring they

they begin to grow soft, and to fill with moisture, and to throw a spawn like a black dust upon the stocks, as well as the leaves and fruits.

I met afterwards with the mention of this disease, as known among orange-trees, in a book written upon that subject in *Holland*, and since in *Pausanias*, as a thing so much taken notice of in *Greece*, that the author describes a certain sort of earth which cures *pediculos vitis*, or, *the lice of the vine*. This is of all others the most pestilent disease of the best fruit-trees, and upon the very best soils of gravel and sand (especially where they are too hungry :) and is so contagious, that it is propagated to new plants raised from old trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine, that it lies in the root, and that the best cure were by application there. But I have tried all sorts of soil without effect, and can prescribe no other remedy, than to prune your trees as close as you can, especially the tainted wood, then to wash them very clean with a wet brush, so as not to leave one shell upon them that you can discern : and upon your oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every leaf, as well as brushing clean the stocks and branches. Without these cares and diligences, you had better root up any trees that are infected, renew all the mould in your borders or boxes, and plant new sound trees, rather than suffer the disappointments and vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know something of this trade, since I have so long allowed myself to be good for nothing else, which few men will do, or enjoy their gardens, without often looking abroad to see how other matters play, what motions in the State, and what invitations they may hope for into other scenes.

For my own part, as the country life, and this part of it more particularly, were the inclination of my youth itself, so they are the pleasure of my age; and I can truly say, that, among many great employments that have fallen to my share, I have never asked or sought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to escape from them, into the ease and freedom of a private scene, where a man may go his own way, and his own pace, in the common paths or circles of life.

*Inter cuncta leges et percunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid curas minuatur, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid purè tranquillet, bonos an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, et fallentis semita vitæ.*

*But above all, the learned read and ask
By what means you may gently pass your age,
What lessens care, what makes thee thine own friend,
What truly calms the mind; honour, or wealth,
Or else a private path of stealing life?*

These are questions that a man ought at least to ask himself, whether he asks others or no, and to choose his course of life rather by his own humour and temper, than by common accidents, or advice of friends; at least if the *Spanish* proverb be true, that a fool knows more in his own house than a wise man in another's.

The measure of choosing well is, whether a man likes what he has chosen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though, among the follies of my life, building and planting have not been the least, and have cost me more than I have the confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompensed by the sweetness and satisfaction of this retreat, where, since my resolution

lution taken of never entering again into any public employments, I have passed five years without ever going once to town, though I am almost in sight of it, and have a house there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any sort of affectation, as some have thought it, but a mere want of desire or humour to make so small a remove; for, when I am in this corner, I can truly say with *Horace*,

*Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid sentire putas, quid credis amice precari?
Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus, ut mihi vivam,
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt dii.
Sit bona librorum, et provisa frugis in annum
Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem spe pendulus horæ,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem qui donat et aufert.*

*Me when the cold Digentian stream revives,
What does my friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess, so I may live,
Whate'er of life remains, unto myself.
May I have books enough, and one year's store,
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove to pray,
Who, as he pleases, gives and takes away.*

That which makes the cares of gardening more necessary, or at least more excusable, is, that all men eat fruit that can get it; so as the choice is only, whether one will eat good or ill; and between these the difference is not greater in point of taste and delicacy than it is of health: for the first I will only say, that whoever has used to eat good will do very great penance, when he comes to ill: and, for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe fruit is extremely unwholesome, and causes so many untimely deaths, or so much sickness about autumn,

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in all great cities where 'tis greedily sold as well as eaten; so no part of diet, in any season, is so healthful, so natural, and so agreeable to the stomach, as good and well-ripened fruits; for this I make the measure of their being good; and, let the kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can say it for myself at least, and all my friends, that the season of summer fruits is ever the season of health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the end of *September*, and for all sicknesses of the stomach (from which most others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are, like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, whenever they eat thirty or forty cherries before meals, or the like proportion of strawberries, white figs, soft peaches, or grapes perfectly ripe. But these after *Michaelmas* I do not think wholesome with us, unless attended by some fit of hot and dry weather, more than is usual after that season; when the frosts or the rain hath taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the autumn and winter-pears are to be reckoned in season, besides apples, which, with cherries, are of all others the most innocent food, and perhaps the best physic. Now whoever will be sure to eat good fruit, must do it out of a garden of his own; for, besides the choice so necessary in the sorts, the soil, and so many other circumstances that go to compose a good garden, or produce good fruits, there is something very nice in gathering them, and choosing the best, even from the same tree. The best sorts of all among us, which I esteem the white figs and the soft peaches, will not carry without suffering. The best fruit, that is bought, has no more of the Master's care, than how to raise the greatest gains; his business is to have as much fruit as he can upon as few trees; whereas the way, to have

have it excellent, is to have but little upon many trees. So that for all things out of a garden, either of salads or fruits, a poor man will eat better, that has one of his own, than a rich man that has none. And this is all I think of necessary and useful to be known upon this subject.

HEROIC VIRTUE.

Among the endowments of nature, or improvements of art, which man has, there are two only that have had the honour of being called divine; and of giving that character to mankind to such as possess them in very eminent degrees; which are heroic virtue, and poetry; for the former can be esteemed any excellency of nature or art, but the latter is true, is an imitation of the best, and bestowed according to his pleasure upon the objects of his merest capacity; upon women or children, or even upon brutes; as the fables describe the High Jests's great power, which were a sacred oracle among the Jews.

I will leave poetry to be play'd by itself, and shall care this day to that undoubted shrine of heroic virtue, which however forgotten, or unknown in later ages, must yet be allowed to have produced in the world the advantages most valued among men, and which most distinguish it from other creatures, and then from the rest of the fellow-creatures, by the

I thought it no easier to describe heroic virtue, by the effects and examples, than by causes or definitions; yet it may be said to arise from some great and native endowment of temper or genius, uniting the common

OF
HEROIC VIRTUE.

AMONG all the endowments of nature, or improvements of art wherein men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the world, there are two only that have had the honour of being called divine, and of giving that esteem or appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent degrees; which are, heroic virtue, and poetry: for prophecy cannot be esteemed any excellency of nature or of art, but, where-ever it is true, is an immediate gift of God, and bestowed according to his pleasure, and upon subjects of the meanest capacity; upon women or children, or even things inanimate; as the stones placed in the High-Priest's breast-plate, which were a sacred oracle among the *Jews*.

I will leave poetry to an essay by itself, and dedicate this only to that antiquated shrine of heroic virtue, which however forgotten, or unknown in latter ages, must yet be allowed to have produced in the world the advantages most valued among men, and which most distinguish their understandings, and their lives, from the rest of their fellow-creatures.

Though it be easier to describe heroic virtue, by the effects and examples, than by causes or definitions; yet it may be said to arise from some great and native excellency of temper or genius transcending the common race

race of mankind, in wisdom, goodness, and fortitude. These ingredients advantaged by birth, improved by education, and assisted by fortune, seem to make that noble composition, which gives such a lustre to those who have possessed it, as made them appear to common eyes something more than mortals, and to have been born of some mixture between divine and human race; to have been honoured and obeyed in their lives, and after their deaths bewailed and adored.

The greatness of their wisdom appeared in the excellency of their inventions; and these, by the goodness of their nature, were turned and exercised upon such subjects, as were of general good to mankind in the common uses of life, or to their own countries in the institutions of such laws, orders, or governments, as were of most ease, safety, and advantage to civil society. Their valour was employed in defending their own countries from the violence of ill men at home, or enemies abroad; in reducing their barbarous neighbours to the same forms and orders of civil lives and institutions; or in relieving others from the cruelties and oppressions of tyranny and violence.

These are all comprehended in three verses of *Virgil*, describing the blessed seats in *Elysium*, and those that enjoyed them.

*Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.*

*Here such, as for their country wounds receiv'd,
Or who by arts invented life improv'd,
Or by deserving made themselves remember'd.*

And, indeed, the character of heroic virtue seems to be, in short, the deserving well of mankind. Where this is chief in design, and great in success, the pretence

tence to a hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this excellency of genius must be native, because it can never grow to any great height, if it be only acquired or affected: but it must be ennobled by birth, to give it more lustre, esteem, and authority; it must be cultivated by education and instruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it must be assisted by fortune, to preserve it to maturity; because the noblest spirit or genius in the world, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first enterprises, cannot deserve enough of mankind, to pretend to so great a reward, as the esteem of heroic virtue. And yet perhaps many a person has died in the first battle or adventure he achieved, and lies buried in silence and oblivion; who, had he out-lived as many dangers as *Alexander* did, might have shined as bright in honour and fame. Now since so many stars go to the making up of this constellation, 'tis no wonder it has so seldom appeared in the world; nor that, when it does, it is received and followed with so much gazing, and so much veneration.

Among the simpler ages or generations of men, in several countries, those, who were the first inventors of arts generally received and applauded as most necessary or useful to human life, were honoured alive, and, after death, worshipped as Gods. And so were those, who had been the first authors of any good and well instituted civil government in any country, by which the native inhabitants were reduced from savage and brutish lives, to the safety and convenience of societies, the enjoyment of property, the observance of orders, and the obedience of laws; which were followed by security, plenty, civility, riches, industry, and all kinds of arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of these sorts of institutions, made people

people generally inclined at home to obey such Governors, the neighbour nations to esteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their protection, or easily yield to the force of their arms and prowess. Thus conquests began to be made in the world, and upon the same designs of reducing barbarous nations unto civil and well-regulated constitutions and governments, and of subduing those by force to obey them, who refused to accept willingly the advantages of life or condition that were thereby offered them. Such persons of old, who, excelling in those virtues, were attended by these fortunes, and made great and famous conquests, and left them under good constitutions of laws and governments; or who instituted excellent and lasting orders and frames of any political state, in what compass soever of country, or under what name soever of civil government, were obeyed as Princes or Lawgivers in their own times, and were called, in after ages, by the name of heroes.

From these sources, I believe, may be deduced all or most of the theology or idolatry of all the ancient Pagan countries, within the compass of the four great empires, so much renowned in story, and perhaps of some others, as great in their constitutions, and as extended in their conquests, though not so much celebrated or observed by learned men.

From all I can gather upon the surveys of ancient story, I am apt to conclude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*, and expelled that kingdom by his son. That *Jupiter*, having driven out his father from *Crete*, conquered *Greece* or at least the *Peloponnesus*; and having, among those inhabitants, introduced the use of agriculture, of property and civility, and established a just and regular kingdom, was, by them, adored as chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni.

That his brothers, sisters, sons and daughters, were worshipped likewise, for the inventions of things chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to human life. So *Neptune*, for the art or improvement of *navigation*; *Vulcan*, for that of forging brass and iron; *Minerva*, of spinning; *Apollo*, of music, and poetry; *Mercury*, of manual arts and merchandise; *Bacchus*, for the invention of wine; and *Ceres*, of corn.

I do not find any traces left by which a probable conjecture may be made of the age, wherein this race of *Saturn* flourished in the world, nor, consequently, what length of time they were adored; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those names, in very different times, and perhaps countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*; and that the last, who was son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very modern, in respect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the race of *Jupiter*. But the story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are said to have conquered *India*, is grown too obscure, by the dark shades of so great antiquity, or disguised by the mask of fables and fiction of poets.

The same divine honours were rendered by the *Egyptians* to *Osiris*; in whose temple was inscribed on a pillar, that he had gone through all countries, and every where taught men all that he found necessary for the common good of mankind; by the *Assyrians* to *Belus*, the founder of that kingdom, and great inventor or improver of astronomy among the *Chaldeans*; by the original *Latins* or *Hetruscans*, to *Janus*, who introduced agriculture into *Italy*; and these three were worshipped as Gods by those ancient and learned nations.

Ninus and *Sesostris* were renowned for their mighty conquest, and esteemed the two great heroes of *Assyria* and of *Egypt*; the first having extended his victories to

to the river *Indus*, and the other, those of the *Egyptians*, over *Asia*, as far as *Pontus*. The time of *Ninus* is controverted among historians, being by some placed thirteen, by others eight hundred years before *Sardanapalus*: but that of *Sesostris* is, in my opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not see how their opinion can be allowed, who make him to be *Sesack*, that took *Jerusalem* in the time of *Rehoboam*, since no more is said in scripture of the progress of that expedition: nor is the time of it mentioned in the *Grecian* story, though some records are there found, of all that passed after the *Trojan* war, and with distinction enough. But the most ancient among them speak of the reign of *Sesostris*, and his mighty conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the kingdom of *Colchis* to have descended from a colony there established by this famous King, as a monument how far northward his victories had extended. Now this kingdom flourished in the time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those arts of magic and enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the story of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the ruins of time.

The two next heroes, that enter the scene, are the *Theban Hercules* and *Thejeus*, both renowned among the *Greeks*, for freeing their country from fierce wild beasts, or from fiercer and wilder men that infested them; from robbers and spoilers, or from cruel and lawless tyrants. *Thejeus* was besides honoured as founder of the more civil state or kingdom of *Athens*, which city first began to flourish and grow great by his institutions, though his father had been King of the scattered villages or inhabitants of *Attica*.

In the same age flourished *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be son of *Jupiter*; who, by the force and number of his fleets, became Lord of the *Ægean* islands,

islands, and most of the coasts of Greece, and was renowned as a hero, for the justness of his laws, and the greatness of his reign.

For the heroes, in the time of the *Trojan* wars, so much celebrated in those two charming poems, which from them were called heroical, though 'tis easy to take their characters from those admirable pictures drawn of them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the relations of any authentic story. That which may be observed is, that all the conduct and courage of *Hector* were employed, in the defence of his country and his father against a foreign invasion: the valour of *Achilles* was exercised in the common cause, wherein his whole nation was engaged upon the fatal revenge of the rape of *Helen*, though he had been assured by certain prophecies, that he should die before the walls of *Troy*; and *Aeneas*, having employed his utmost prowess in defence of his country, saved his father and the *Trojan* Gods, gathered up the remainders of his ruined country, sailed to *Italy*, and there founded a kingdom, which gave rise to the greatest empire of the world.

About two hundred and fifty years after these, *Lycurgus* instituted the *Spartan* State, upon laws and orders so different from those usual in those times and countries, that more than human authority seemed necessary to establish them; and the *Pythian* Priestess told him, she did not know whether she should call him a God or a man. And indeed no civil or politic constitutions have been more celebrated than his, by the best authors of ancient story and times.

The next heroes, we meet with upon record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the first founded the *Roman* city and State, and the other polished the civil and religious orders of both in such a degree, that the original institutions of these two lawgivers continued as long as that glorious State.

The

The next hero, that came upon the stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed his country from their servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Persian* empire upon the ruins of the *Assyrian*; adorned it with excellent constitutions and laws, and extended it westward, by the conquest of all the lesser *Asia* and *Lydia*, to the very coasts of the *Ægean* sea. Whether the picture of *Cyrus*, drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest character that can be given of heroic virtue; and 'tis certain his memory was always celebrated among the *Persians*, though not prosecuted by divine honours, because that nation adored one Supreme God, without any representation or idol; and in the next place the sun, to whom alone they offered sacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned in story, having founded the *Grecian* monarchy, by the intire conquest of the *Persian*, and extended it by the addition of *Greece* and *Macedon*. But he attained not the esteem or appellation of an hero, though he affected and courted it by his mother's stories of his birth, and by the flatteries of the Priest and oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His pretence was justly excluded by his intemperance in wine, in anger, and in lust; and more yet by his cruelties and his pride: for true honour has something in it so humoursous, as to follow commonly those who avoid and neglect it, rather than those who seek and pursue it. Besides, he instituted no orders or frame of government, in the kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Persia*; but rather corrupted and disordered those he found; and seems to have owed the successes of his enterprizes, to the counsels and conduct of his father's old officers; after whose disgrace and fall, immediately succeeded that of his fortune and his life. Yet he must be allowed, to have much contributed to his own glory and fame, by a great native genius and unlimited bounty, and by the greatest boldness of enterprize,

terprise, scorn of danger, and fearlessness of death, that could be in any mortal man. He was a prodigy of valour and of fortune; but, whether his virtues or his faults were greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have been founder of the *Roman* empire, seems to have possessed very eminently all the qualities, both native and acquired, that enter into the composition of an hero, but failed of the attribute of honour, because he overthrew the laws of his own country; and orders of his state, and raised his greatness by the conquest of his fellow-citizens, more than of their enemies; and after he came to the empire lived not to perfect the frame of such a government, or atchieve such conquests as he seems to have had in design.

These four great monarchies, with the smaller kingdoms, principalities, and states, that were swallowed up by their conquests and extent, make the subject of what is called ancient story, and are so excellently related by the many *Greek* and *Latin* authors, still extant and in common vogue, so commented, enlarged, reduced into order of time and place, by many more of the modern writers, that they are known to all men, who profess to study or entertain themselves with reading. The orders and institutions of these several governments, their progress and duration, their successes or decays, their events and revolutions, make the common themes of schools and colleges, the study of learned, and the conversation of idle men, the arguments of histories, poems, and romances. From the actions and fortunes of those Princes and lawgivers, are drawn the common examples of virtue and honour, the reproaches of vice, which are illustrated by the felicities or misfortunes that attend them. From the events and revolutions of these governments are drawn the usual instructions of Princes and Statesmen, and the discourses and reflexions of the greatest wits and

and writers upon the politics. From the orders and institutions, the laws and customs of these empires and states, the sages of law and of justice, in all countries, endeavour to deduce the very common laws of nature and of nations, as well as the particular civil or municipal of kingdoms and provinces. From these they draw their arguments and precedents, in all disputes concerning the pretended excellencies or defaults of the several sorts of governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended; concerning the rights of war and peace, of invasion and defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of authority and obedience, of prerogative and liberty in civil contentions.

Yet the stage of all these empires, and revolutions of all these heroic actions, and these famous constitutions (how great or how wise soever any of them are esteemed) is but a limited compass of earth, that leaves out many vast regions of the world, the which, tho' accounted barbarous, and little taken notice of in story, or by any celebrated authors, yet have a right to come in for their voice, in agreeing upon the laws of nature and nations (for aught I know) as well as the rest, that have arrogated it wholly to themselves; and besides, in my opinion, there are some of them, that, upon inquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the wisdom of their constitutions, the extent of their conquests, and the duration of their empires or states.

The famous scene of the four great monarchies was that midland part of the world, which was bounded on the *East* by the river *Indus*, and on the *West* by the *Atlantic* ocean; on the *North* by the river *Oxus*, the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* seas, and the *Danube*; on the *South* by the mountain *Atlas*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the mouth of *Indus*, by the southern ocean.

'Tis

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are said to have conquered *India*; but the first seems only to have subdued some parts of it, that lie upon the borders of that river; and *Alexander's* achievements, there, seem rather like a journey than a conquest; and tho' he pierced through the country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet he left even undiscovered the greatest parts of that mighty region, which by the ancients was reported to contain an hundred and eighteen great and populous nations, and which, for aught I know, were never conquered but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Scythia* nor *Arabia* for parts of that ancient scene of action and story; for, though *Cyrus* and *Darius* entered the first, yet they soon left it, one with loss of his honour, and the other of his life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well discovered or surveyed; nor much more known, than by the commerce of their spices and perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Felix*, and is environed on three sides by the sea; for the northern skirts, that join to *Syria*, have entered into the conquests or commerce of the four great empires; but that, which seems to have secured the other, is the stony and sandy desarts, through which no armies can pass for want of water.

Now if we consider the map of the world, as it lies at present before us, since the discoveries made by the navigations of these three last centuries, we shall easily find what vast regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient scene on all sides: and though passing for barbarous, they have not been esteemed worth the pens of any good authors, and are known only by common and poor relations of traders, seamen, or travellers; yet, by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that some of these out-lying parts of the world, however unknown by the ancients, and overlooked by the modern learned, may yet have afforded

as much matter of action and speculation, as the other scene so much celebrated in story. I mean not only in their vast extent, and variety of soils and climates, with their natural productions, but even in the excellent constitutions of laws and customs, the wise and lasting foundations of states and empires, and the mighty flights of conquests that have risen from such orders and institutions.

Now because the first scene is such a beaten road, and this so little known or traced, I am content to take a short survey of our four great schemes of government or empire, that have sprung and grown to mighty heights, lived very long, and flourished much in these remote (and, as we will have it, more ignoble) regions of the world: whereof one is at the farthest degree of our *eastern* longitude, being the kingdom of *China*. The next is at the farthest *western*, which is that of *Perry*. The third is the outmost of our *north-ern* latitude, which is *Scythia*, or *Tartary*. And the fourth is *Arabia*, which lies very far upon the *south-ern*.

For that vast continent of *Africa*, that extends between mount *Atlas*, and the *southern* ocean; though it be found to swarm in people, to abound in gold, to contain many great kingdoms, and infinite smaller principalities, to be pierced by those two famous rivers of the *Nile* and the *Niger*, to produce a race of men that seem hardly of the same species with the rest of mankind; yet I cannot find any traces of that heroic virtue, that may entitle them to any share in this essay. For whatever remains in story of *Atlas*, or his kingdom of old, is so obscured with age or fables, that it may go along with those of the *Atlantic* islands; though I know not whether these themselves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for fables or no, or for relations they had met with among the *Egyptian* Priests, and which perhaps were by them otherwise esteemed.

SECT. II.

THE great and ancient kingdom of *China* is bounded to the *East* and *South* by the ocean, to the *North* by a stone wall of twelve hundred miles long, raised against the invasion of the *Tartars*; and to the *West*, by vast and unpassable mountains or deserts, which the labour or curiosity of no mortal man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any account of. When *Alexander* would have passed the river *Ganges*, he was told by the *Indians* that nothing beyond it was inhabited, and that all was either impassable marshes, lying between great rivers, or sandy deserts, or steep mountains, full only of wild beasts, but wholly destitute of mankind. So as *Ganges* was esteemed by ancients the bound of the *eastern world*: since the use of the compass, and extent of navigation, it is found that there are several populous kingdoms lie between *Ganges* and the deserts or mountains that divide them from *China*; as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cirote*, and others lie in this space, coasting along the borders of great rivers *northwards*; which are said to run about the length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to rise from one mighty lake in the mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of these kingdoms is known any other way of passage or commerce into *China*, than by sea.

From *Indostan*, or the *Mogul's* country, there is none other usual; and such, as travel from thence by land, are forced to go many degrees northward before they turn to the east, to pass many savage kingdoms or countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vast sandy deserts, and other prodigious high and steep mountains, where no carriage or beast is able to pass, but only men on foot; and over one mountain particularly

icularly esteemed the highest in the world; where the air is so thin, that men cannot travel over it without danger of their lives; and never in summer without being poisoned by the scent of certain herbs that grow upon it; which is mortal when they are in flower. After eight or nine months journey from the *Mogul's* Court, several persons have travelled this way, till they came to the wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and so to the imperial city of *Peking*, situate in the northern parts of this mighty region, which the *Chinese*s call a world by itself; and esteem themselves the only reasonable and civilized people, having no neighbours on three sides; and to the north only the *Tartars*, whom they esteem but another sort of wild or brutish men; and therefore they say in common proverb, *That the Chinese only see with two eyes, and all other men but with one.*

By this situation, and by a custom or law very ancient among them, of suffering no stranger to come in to their country, or, if they do, not permitting him to go out, or return any more to his own, this vast continent continued very long, and wholly unknown to the rest of the world; and, forasmuch as I can find, was first discovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*; who, about four hundred years ago, made a voyage from *Venice*, through *Armenia*, *Persia*, and several parts of *Tartary*, to that which he names the kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous city of *Cambalu* (as he calls them) and, after seventeen years residence of his father and himself in that Court of the great *Cham*, returned to *Venice*, and left the world a large account of this voyage.

Since his time, and within two or three hundred years, several missionary Friars and Jesuits have, upon devotion or command of their superiors, pierced with infinite pains and dangers through these vast and savage regions, some from the *Mogul's* country, some through

through *Armenia* and *Persia*, and arrived at *Peking*; which I make no question (by comparing all their several accounts and relations) is the same famous city that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, seated in the northern provinces of *China*, which is by him called *Cataya*. The reason of this difference in names was, that, when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Cham* of east *Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had possessed himself by conquest, of several northern provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where he made his residence, and which was like the rest of his empire called *Cataya*, and the chief city *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* name. After some time all these provinces were again recovered by the *Chinese*, from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chinese* appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the seat of his empire at *Peking* (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinsay*) that the force of his armies, lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that frontier against the furious invasions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had several times felt the rage and danger.

After this recovery, *China* continued in peace, and prosperous under their own Emperors, till about the year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody war, of above thirty years, in the end made themselves absolute masters of the whole kingdom, and so it has ever since continued.

This region, commonly known by the name of *China*, extends about eighteen hundred miles, or thirty degrees of northern and southern latitude. It is not esteemed so much of longitude; but this is more uncertain, the journey through the whole country from East to West having not, that I find, been ever performed by any *European*; and the accounts taken only from report of the natives. Nor is it easily agreed, where the habitable parts of *China* determine westward, since some authors say, they end in mountains,

mountains, stored only with wild beasts and wild men, that have neither laws nor language, nor other commerce with the *Chinese*, than by descents sometimes made upon them, for rapines or for rapes: and other authors say, there are such inaccessible mountains even in the midst of *China*, so as the first accounts may have left out great countries beyond these mountains, which they took for the utmost border of this kingdom.

Whatever length it has, which by none is esteemed less than twelve or thirteen hundred miles; it must be allowed to be the greatest, richest, and most populous kingdom now known in the world; and will perhaps be found to owe its riches, force, civility, and felicity, to the admirable constitution of its government more than any other.

This empire consists of fifteen several kingdoms, which at least have been so of old, though now governed as provinces, by their several Viceroy, who yet live in greatness, splendor, and riches, equal to the great and sovereign Kings. In the whole kingdom, are one hundred and forty-five capital cities, of mighty extent and magnificent building, and one thousand three hundred and twenty-one lesser cities, but all walled round; the number of villages is infinite, and no country in the known world so full of inhabitants, nor so improved by agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous commodities, by canals of incredible length, conjunctions of rivers, convenience of ways for the transportation of all sorts of goods and commodities from one province to another, so as no country has so great trade, though till very lately they never had any but among themselves; and what there is now foreign among them is not driven by the *Chinese* going out of their country to manage it, but only by the permission of the *Portugueses* and *Dutch* to come and trade in some skirts of their southern provinces.

For

For testimonies of their greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of their famous wall, and of their city *Peking*. The stone-wall, which divides the northern parts of *China*, from *Tartary*, is reckoned by some twelve, by others nine hundred miles long, running over rocks and hills, through marshes and deserts, and making way for rivers by mighty arches. It is forty-five foot high, and twenty foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain spaces by great towers. It was built above two thousand years ago, but with such admirable architecture, that, where some gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their irruptions, the rest is still as intire, as when it was first built. The King, that raised this wall, appointed a million of soldiers, who were listed and paid, for the defence of it against the *Tartars*, and took their turns by certain numbers at certain times, for the guard of this frontier.

The imperial city of *Peking* is nothing so large as several other cities of *China* (whereof *Nanking* is esteemed the greatest) but is a regular foursquare; the wall of each side is six miles in length. In each of these sides are three gates, and on each side of each gate are great palaces or forts for the guards belonging to them, which are a thousand men to each gate. The streets run quite cross, with a thorough view and passage from each gate to that which is over against it in the opposite side; and these streets are ranged full of stately houses.

The palace of the Emperor is three miles in compass, consisting of three Courts, one within the other, whereof the last (where the Emperor lodges) is four hundred paces square. The other two are filled with his domestics, officers and guards, to the number of sixteen thousand persons. Without these Courts are large and delicious gardens, many artificial rocks and hills, streams of rivers drawn into several canals
faced

faced with square stone, and the whole achieved with such admirable invention, cost, and workmanship, that nothing ancient or modern seems to come near it; and all served with such magnificence, order, and splendor, that the audience of a foreign Ambassador, at *Peking*, seems a sight as great and noble, as one of the triumphs at *Rome*.

As other nations are usually distinguished into Noble and Plebeian, so that of *China* may be distinguished into Learned and Illiterate. The last makes up the body and mass of the people who are governed; the first comprehends all the Magistrates that govern, and those who may in time or course succeed them in the magistracy; for no other than the learned are ever employed in the government, nor any in the greatest charges, that are not of those ranks or degrees of learning, that make them termed sages, or philosophers, or doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this government of *China* is, and what the persons employed in it, there will be a necessity of knowing what their learning is, and how it makes them fit for government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is observed to do, and the reason of such different effects from the same cause.

The two great heroes of the *Chinese* nation were *Fohu* and *Confucius*, whose memories have always continued among them sacred and adored. *Fohu* lived about four thousand years ago, and was the first founder of their kingdom; the progress whereof has ever since continued upon their records so clear, that they are esteemed by the missionary Jesuits unquestionable and infallible. For, after the death of every King, the successor appoints certain persons to write the memorable actions of his predecessor's reign, and of these an epitome is afterwards drawn and entered into their registers. *Fohu* first reduced them from the common original lives of mankind, introduced agriculture,

culture, wedlock, distinction of sexes by different habits, laws and orders of government: he invented characters, and left several short tables or writings of astronomy, or observations of the heavens, of morality, of physic, and political government. The characters he used seem to have been partly straight lines of different lengths, and distinguished by different points: and partly hieroglyphics; and these in time were followed by characters, of which each expressed one word.

In these several ways were for many centuries composed many books among the *Chinese*, in many sorts of learning, especially natural and moral philosophy, astronomy, astrology, physic, and agriculture.

Something above two thousand years ago lived *Confucius*, the most learned, wise, and virtuous of all the *Chinese*; and for whom both the King and Magistrates, in his own age, and all of them in the ages since, seem to have had the greatest deference that has any where been rendered to any mortal man. He writ many tracts, and in them digested all the learning of the ancients, even from the first writing or tables of *Fohu*, at least all that he thought necessary or useful to mankind, in their personal, civil, or political capacities; which were then received and since prosecuted with so great esteem and veneration, that none has questioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the truest and best rules of opinion and life; so that 'tis enough in all argument, that *Confucius* has said it.

Some time after lived a King, who, to raise a new period of time from his own name and reign, endeavoured to abolish the memory of all that had passed before him, and caused all books to be burnt, except those of physic and agriculture. Out of this ruin to learning escaped, either by chance, or some private industry, the epitomes or registers of the several successions

sions of their Kings since *Fohu*, and the works of *Confucius*, or at least a part of them, which have lately in *France* been printed in the *Latin* tongue, with a learned preface, by some of the missionary Jesuits, under the title of the Works of *Confucius*.

After the death of this tyrannous and ambitious King, these writings came abroad, and, being the only remainders of the ancient *Chinese* learning, were received with general applause, or rather veneration: four learned men, having long addicted themselves to the study of these books, writ four several tracts or comments upon them; and one of the succeeding Kings made a law, that no other learning should be taught, studied, or exercised, but what was extracted out of these five books; and so learning has ever since continued in *China*, wholly confined to the writings of those five men, or rather to those of their Prince of philosophers, the great and renowned *Confucius*.

The sum of his writings seems to be a body or digestion of ethics; that is, of all moral virtues, either personal, oeconomical, civil or political; and framed for the institution and conduct of men's lives, their families, and their governments, but chiefly of the last: the bent of his thoughts and reasonings running up and down this scale, that no people can be happy but under good governments, and no governments happy but over good men; and that, for the felicity of mankind, all men in a nation, from the Prince to the meanest peasant, should endeavour to be good, and wise, and virtuous, as far as his own thoughts, the precepts of others, or the laws of his country can instruct him.

The chief principle he seems to lay down for a foundation and builds upon, is, that every man ought to study and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own natural reason to the greatest height he is capable, so as he may never (or as seldom as can be)

err and swerve from the law of nature, in the course and conduct of his life: that this, being not to be done without much thought, inquiry, and diligence, makes study and philosophy necessary; which teaches men what is good and what is bad, either in its own nature or for theirs; and consequently what is to be done and what is to be avoided, by every man in his several station or capacity. That in this perfection of natural reason consists the perfection of body and mind, and the utmost or supreme happiness of mankind. That the means and rules, to attain this perfection, are chiefly not to will or desire any thing but what is consonant to his natural reason, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the good and happiness of other men, as well as our own. To this end is prescribed the constant course and practice of the several virtues, known and agreed so generally in the world; among which, courtesy or civility and gratitude are cardinal with them. In short, the whole scope of all *Confutius* has writ seems aimed only at teaching men to live well, and to govern well; how parents, masters, and Magistrates should rule, and how children, servants, and subjects should obey.

All this, with the many particular rules and instructions, for either personal, oeconomical, or political wisdom and virtue, is discoursed by him, with great compass of knowledge, excellence of sense, reach of wit, and illustrated with elegance of stile, and aptness of similitudes and examples, as may be easily conceived by any that can allow for the lameness and shortness of translations out of language and manners of writing infinitely differing from ours. So as the man appears to have been of a very extraordinary genius, of mighty learning, admirable virtue, excellent nature, a true patriot of his country, and lover of mankind.

This

This is the learning of the *Chinese*, and all other sorts are either disused or ignoble among them; all that, which we call scholastic or polemic, is unknown or unpractised, and serves, I fear, among us, for little more than to raise doubts and disputes, heats and feuds, animosities and factions in all controversies of religion or government. Even astrology and physic, and chymistry, are but ignoble studies, though there are many among them that excel in all these; and the astrologers are much in vogue among the vulgar, as well as their predictions; the chymists apply themselves chiefly to the search of the universal medicine, for health and length of life, pretending to make men immortal, if they can find it out: the physicians excel in the knowledge of the pulse, and of all simple medicines, and go little further; but in the first are so skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many hours or days a sick man can last, but how many years a man in perfect seeming health may live, in case of no accident or violence. And by simples they pretend to relieve all diseases that nature will allow to be cured. They never let blood, but say, if the pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it; and so they allay all heats of the blood, by abstinence, diet, and cooling herbs.

But all this learning is ignoble and mechanical among them, and the *Confutian* only essential and incorporate to their government; into which none enters without having first passed through the several degrees. To attain it, is first necessary the knowledge of their letters or characters; and to this must be applied at least ten or twelve years study and diligence, and twenty for great perfection in it: for, by all I can gather out of so many authors as have written of *China*, they have no letters at all, but only so many characters, expressing so many words: these are said by some to be

be sixty, by others eighty, and by others sixscore thousand; and upon the whole, their writing seems to me to be like that of short-hand among us, in case there were a different character invented for every word in our language. Their writing is neither from the left-hand to the right like the *European*, nor from right to left like the *Asiatic* languages, but from top to bottom of the paper in one straight line, and then beginning again at the top till the side be full.

The learning of *China* therefore consists first in the knowledge of their language, and next in the learning, study, and practice of the writings of *Confutius* and his four great disciples; and as every man grows more perfect in both these, so he is more esteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unless it be discovered by retaining the principal parts of him in their memories, and the practice of him in their lives.

The learned among them are promoted by three degrees: the first may resemble that of sophisters in our colleges after two or three years standing; and this degree is conferred by public examiners appointed for that purpose; who go through the chief cities of each Province once a year, and, upon scrutiny, admit such of the candidates as they approve, to this degree, register their names, and give them a badge belonging to this first form of the learned.

The second degree is promoted with more form, and performed once in three years, in a great college built for that purpose in the chief city of each kingdom; by several examiners appointed by the King, and strict inquiries and questions both of language and learning, and much critic upon the several writings, produced by the several pretenders, and submitted to the examiners. This degree may resemble that of Masters of arts in our colleges, and is conferred with a new badge belonging to it.

The

The third degree may be compared to that of doctors among us in any of our sciences, and is never conferred but in the imperial city of *Peking*, with great forms and solemnities, after much examining, and deliberation of the persons appointed for that purpose; and of this degree there are never to be above three hundred at a time in the whole empire, besides such as are actually in the magistracy or government; who are all chosen out of the persons that have commenced or attained this degree of learning. Upon the taking each degree, they repair to a temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each city, and adjoins to the colleges: and there they perform the worship and ceremonies appointed in honour of his memory, as the great Prince or hero of the learned.

Of these persons all their councils and all their magistracies are composed; out of these are chosen all their chief Officers and Mandarines, both civil and military. With these the Emperors and Viceroy of Provinces, and Generals of armies advise upon all great occasions; and their learning and virtue make them esteemed more able for the execution and discharge of all public employments, than the longest practice and experience in other countries; and, when they come into armies, they are found braver and more generous in exposing their lives upon all great occasions, than the boldest soldiers of their troops.

Now for the government, it is absolute monarchy, there being no other laws in *China*, but the King's orders and commands; and, it is likewise hereditary, still descending to the next of blood.

But all orders and commands of the King proceed through his councils, and are made upon the recommendation or petition of the council proper and appointed for that affair; so that all matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the several councils;
and

and then, upon their advices or requests made to the King, they are ratified and signed by him, and so pass into laws.

All great offices of State are likewise conferred by the King, upon the same recommendations or petitions of his several councils; so that none are preferred by the humour of the Prince himself, nor by favour of any Minister, by flattery or corruption, but by force or appearance of merit, of learning, and of virtue; which, observed by the several councils, gain their recommendations or petitions to the King.

The chief officers are either those of State, residing constantly at Court, and by whom the whole Empire is governed, or the provincial officers, Viceroy, and Magistrates or Mandarines: for the first, there are, in the imperial city at *Peking*, six several councils; or, as some authors affirm, one great council, that divides itself into six smaller, but distinct branches. Some difference is also made by writers, concerning the nature or the business of these councils. But that which seems most generally agreed is, that the first of these six is a council of State, by whom all officers through the whole kingdom are chosen according to their learning and merit. The second is the council of treasury, which has inspection into the whole revenue, and the receipts and payments that are made in or out of it. The third takes care of the temples, offerings, feasts and ceremonies belonging to them; as likewise of learning, and the schools or colleges designed for it. The fourth is the council of war, which disposes of all military offices and honours, and all matters of war and peace, that is, by the King's command, issued upon their representations. The fifth takes care of all the royal or public buildings, and of their fleets. And the sixth is a council or court of justice or judicature, in all causes both civil and criminal.

Each

Each of these councils has a President, and two assistants or chief Secretaries, whereof one sits at his right, and the other on his left-hand; who digest and register the debates and orders of the council. And, besides these, there are in each council ten counsellors.

By these councils the whole empire of *Gbina* is governed through all the several kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular officers, intendants, and notaries; from whom they receive constant accounts, and to whom they send constant instructions concerning all passages or affairs of moment in any of the several Provinces of the kingdom.

There are, besides these six, several smaller councils; as one for the affairs of the King's women, for his household, and his domestic chancery or justice. But above all is the council of the *Colaos*, or chief Ministers, who are seldom above five or six in number, but persons of the most consummate prudence and experience; who, after having passed, with great applause, through the other councils or governments of Provinces, are at last advanced to this supreme dignity, and serve as a Privy-Council, or rather a *Junto*, sitting with the Emperor himself; which is allowed to none of the others. To these are presented all the results or requests of the other councils; and, being, by their advice, approved, they are by the Emperor signed and ratified, and so dispatched.

These are always attended by some of the chiefest and most renowned philosophers or sages of the kingdom; who attend the Emperor, and serve him in receiving all petitions, and give their opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*; as also upon any matters of great moment and difficulty, when they are consulted: and these are chosen out of two assemblies residing at *Peking*, and consisting of sixty men each; but all choice persons, whose wisdom and virtue are generally

generally known and applauded. They are employed in all matters of learning, and giving necessary orders therein; keeping all the public writings, and ordering and digesting them; registering all laws and orders of State; and out of these are appointed, by each succeeding King, some persons to relate and register the times and actions of his predecessor. They are at their leisure much given to poetry; in which they compile the praises of virtuous men and actions, satires against vice, inscriptions for monuments and triumphal arches, and such like compositions. And lastly, out of these (as they grow in esteem and fame of wisdom and virtue) are chosen and advanced by degrees the officers of State, and counsellors in the several councils; and none ever arrives to be a *Chao*, that has not been one of these two assemblies.

Each particular kingdom of the empire has the same councils, or some very like them; for the government of that particular Province; but there is besides in each a Superintendent, sent more immediately from Court, to inspect the course of affairs; a censor of justice and manners, without whose approval, no capital sentences are to be executed; and a third officer employed by the Empress, in the nature of an almoner; whose business is only that of charity, and relief of the poor and distressed, and setting free prisoners upon small debts or offences; there is, besides, in each Province, a particular council, to take care of learning, and to appoint rules and examiners for the several degrees thereof.

It were endless to enumerate all the excellent orders of this State, which seem contrived by a reach of sense and wisdom beyond what we meet with in any other government of the world; but, by some few, the rest may be judged.

Each Prince of the royal blood has a revenue assigned him, and a city where he is bound to reside, and

and never to stir out of it, without the Emperor's leave. All degrees of people are distinguished by their habit, and the several officers by several badges upon them: and the colour worn by the Emperor, which is yellow, is never used by any other person whatsoever. Every house has a board over the door, wherein is written the number, sex, and quality of the persons living in it; and to a certain number of houses one is appointed to inspect the rest, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear office in any Province where he was born, unless it be military; which is grounded upon the belief, that in matters of justice men will be partial to their friends, but in those of war men will fight best for their own country. None ever continues in any office above three years, unless upon a new election; and none, put out for miscarriage in his office, is again admitted to any employment. The two great hinges of all governments, reward and punishment, are no where turned with greater care, nor exercised with more bounty and severity. Their justice is rigorous upon all offences against the law, but none more exemplary, than upon corruption in judges. Besides this, inquisition is made into their ignorance and weakness, and even into carelessness and rashness in their sentences; and, as the first is punished with death, so these are with dismissal and disgrace. The rewards of honour (besides those of advancement) are conferred by patents from the Emperor, expressing merits and granting privileges, by pillars of marble with elegant and honorary inscriptions: and to merit extraordinary towards the Prince and country, even by erecting temples, offering incense, and appointing Priests for the service of them. Agriculture is encouraged by so many special privileges from the Crown, and the common laws or customs of the country, that whatever wars happen, the tillers of the ground are untouched as if they were

sacred, like Priests in other places; so as no country in the world was ever known to be so cultivated, as the whole kingdom of *China*. Honour and respect is no where paid to nobility and riches so much, as it is here to virtue and learning, which are equally regarded, both by the Prince and the people: and the advancement to office of persons, only for excelling in those qualities, prevents the cankers of envy and faction, that corrupt and destroy so many other governments. Every one seeking preferment here, only by merit, attributes to it that of other men. Though the King be the most absolute in the world, since there are no other laws in *China* but what he makes; yet, all matters being first digested and represented by his councils, the humours and passions of the Prince enter not into the forms or conduct of the government; but his personal favours to men or women are distributed in the preferments of his household, or out of the vast revenue that is particularly applied to it, for support of the greatest expence and magnificence that appears in any palace of the world. So that it may truly be said, that no King is better served and obeyed, more honoured or rather adored; and no people better governed, nor with greater ease and felicity.

Upon these foundations and institutions, by such methods and orders, the kingdom of *China* seems to be framed and policed with the utmost force and reach of human wisdom, reason, and contrivance; and in practice to excel the very speculations of other men, and all those imaginary schemes of the *European* wits, the institutions of *Xenophon*, the republic of *Plato*, the *Utopia*'s, or *Oceana*'s of our modern writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the vastness, the opulence, the populousness of this region, with the ease and facility wherewith 'tis governed, and the length of time this government has run. The last is three times longer than that of the *Assyrian*

Assyrian Monarchy, which was thirteen hundred years, and the longest period of any government we meet with in story. The numbers of people and of their forces, the treasures and revenues of the Crown, as well as wealth and plenty of the subjects, the magnificence of their public buildings and works would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring testimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Martinus Kereberus*, with several other relations, in *Italian*, *Portuguese*, and *Dutch*; either by missionary Friars, or persons employed thither upon trade, or embassies upon that occasion: yet the whole government is represented, as a thing managed with as much facility, order, and quiet, as a common family; though some writers affirm the number of people in *China*, before the last *Tartar* wars, to have been above two hundred millions. Indeed the canals cut through the country, or made by conjunctions of rivers, are so infinite, and of such lengths, and so perpetually filled with boats and vessels of all kinds, that one writer believes there are near as many people in these, and the ships wherewith their havens are filled, who live upon the water, as those upon the land.

'Tis true, that, as physicians say, the highest degree of health in a body subjects it to the greatest danger and violence of some disease; so the perfection of this government or constitution has had the same effect, joined with the accident of their situation, upon such a neighbour as the *Tartars*. For these, by the hardness and poverty of their country and their lives, are the boldest and the fiercest people in the world, and the most enterprising. On t'other side, the excellence of the *Chinese* wit and government renders them, by great ease, plenty, and luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent attempts and invasions of their savage neighbours. Three several times, upon their records, the *Tartars* have conquered
great

great parts of the kingdom of *China*, and, after long establishments there, have been expelled. Till (as we said before) about the year 1650, they atchieved the compleat and intire conquest of the whole empire, after a bloody war of above thirty years. But the force of this constitution and government appears in no circumstance or light so great as in this, that it has waded safe through so great tempests and inundations, as six changes of race among their Kings by civil wars, and four conquests by foreign and barbarous forces. For, under the present *Tartar* Kings, the government continues still the same, and in the hands of the *Chinese* learned; and all the change, that appears to have been made by such a storm or revolution, has been only, that a *Tartar* race sits in the throne instead of a *Chinese*; and the cities and strong places are garrisoned by *Tartar* soldiers, who fall, by degrees, into the manners, customs, and language of the *Chinese*. So great a respect, or rather veneration, is paid to this wise and admirable constitution, even by its enemies and invaders, that both civil usurpers, and foreign conquerors, vie with emulation, who shall make greatest Court, and give most support to it, finding no other means to secure their own safety and ease, by the obedience of the people, than the establishment and preservation of their ancient constitutions and government.

The great idea which may be conceived of the *Chinese* wisdom and knowledge, as well as their wit, ingenuity, and civility, by all we either read or see of them, is apt to be lessened by their gross and sottish idolatry; but this itself is only among the vulgar or illiterate, who worship, after their manner, whatever idols belong to each city, or village, or family; and the temples and Priests, belonging to them, are in usual request among the common people and the women. But the learned adore the Spirit of the world, which they

they hold to be eternal; and this without temples, idols, or Priests. And the Emperor only is allowed to sacrifice at certain times, by himself or his officers, at two temples in the two imperial cities of *Peking* and *Nanking*; one dedicated to heaven, and the other to the earth.

This I mention, to shew how the furthest *East* and *West* may be found to agree in notions of divinity, as well as in excellence of civil or politic constitutions, by passing at one leap from these of *China*, to those of *Peru*.

SECT. III.

TIS known enough, that, about the year 1484, *Alonzo Sanchez*, master of a Spanish vessel, that usually traded from those coasts to the *Canaries* and *Madera's*, was in his passage between these islands surprised with a furious storm at *East*, so violent, that he was forced to let his ship drive before it without any sail; and so black, that within twenty eight days he could not take the height of the sun. That he was at length cast upon a shore, but whether island or continent he could not tell, but full of savage people. That after infinite toils, dangers, and miseries of hunger and sickness, he made at length one of the *Tercera* islands, with only five men left, of seventeen he carried out; and, meeting there with the famous *Columbo*, made him such relations, and so pertinent accounts of his voyage, as gave occasion for the discovery of *America*, or the *West-Indies*, by this man so renowned in our modern story.

Whatever predictions have been since found out, or applied towards the discovery of this new world, or stories told of a certain Prince in *Wales* having run the same fortune, or of the ancient *Carthaginians*; I do

not find, by all that I have read upon this subject, any reason to believe, that any mortals, from *Europe* or *Africa* had ever traced those unknown paths of that *western* ocean, or left the least footsteps of having discovered those countries, before *Alonso Sanchez* and his crew. Upon the arrival of the *Spaniards* there with *Columbus*, they found nature as naked as the inhabitants; in most parts no thought of business, further than the most natural pleasures or necessities of life; nations divided by natural bounds of rivers, rocks, or mountains, or difference of language; quarrels among them, only for hunger or lust; the command in wars given to the strongest or the bravest; and in peace taken up or exercised by the boldest among them; and their lives commonly spent in the most innocent entertainments of hunting, fishing, feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many principalities, that seemed to have grown up, from the original of paternal dominion, and some communities with orders and laws; but the two great dominions were those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which had arrived to such extent of territory, power, and riches, that amazed those, who had been enough acquainted with the greatness and splendor of the *European* kingdoms. And I never met with any story so entertaining, as the relations of the several learned *Spanish* Jesuits and others, concerning these countries and people, in their native innocence and simplicity. *Mexico* was so vast an empire, that it was well represented by the common answer of the *Indians*, all along that coast, to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any part, and asked the people whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien no es esclavo de Montezuma?* Or, *Who is not a slave of Montezuma?* as if they thought the whole world were so. They might truly call it slave, for no dominion was ever so absolute, so tyrannous, and so cruel as his. Among other

ther tributes imposed on the people, one was of men to be sacrificed every year to an ugly deformed idol, in the great temple of *Mexico*. Such numbers as the King pleased of poor victims were laid upon such extents of cities, or villages, or number of inhabitants, and there chosen by lot, to satisfy such bloody and inhuman taxes. These were often influenced by the Priests, who, when they saw a man grow negligent, either in respect to themselves, or devotion to their idols, would send to tell the King, that the gods were hungry, and thereupon the common tribute was raised; so as, that year the *Spaniards* landed and invaded *Mexico*, there had been above thirty thousand men sacrificed to this cruel superstition. And this was said to have given great occasion for the easy conquests of the *Spaniards*, by the easy revolts and submissions of the natives to any new dominions.

The same was observed to happen in *Peru*, by the general hatred and aversion of the people in that empire to *Atahualpa*, who, being a bastard of the *Ynca's* family, had first by practices and subtlety, and afterwards by cruelty and violence, raised himself to the throne of *Peru*, and cut off with merciless cruelty all the masculine race of the true royal blood, that were at man's estate, or near it, after that line had lasted pure and sacred, and reigned with unspeakable felicity both to themselves and their subjects, for above eight hundred years.

This kingdom is said to have extended near seven hundred leagues in length, from *North* to *South*, and about an hundred and twenty in breadth: 'tis bounded on the *West* by the *Pacific* ocean; on the *East* by mountains impassable for men or beasts, and, as some write, even birds themselves; the height being such, as makes their tops always covered with snow, even in that warm region. On the *North* 'tis bounded with a great river, and on the *South* with another, which
separates

separates it from the province of *Cbili*, that reaches to the *Megellan* straits.

The kingdom of *Peru* deduced its original from their great heroes, *Mango Copac*, and his wife and sister *Coya Mama*, who are said to have first appeared in that country, near a mighty lake, which is still sacred with them upon this occasion.

Before this time, the people of these countries are reported to have lived like the beasts among them, without any traces of orders, laws or religion, without other food than from the trees or the herbs, or what game they could catch, without further provision than for present hunger, without any clothing or houses; but dwelt in rocks, or caves, or trees, to be secure from wild beasts, or in tops of hills, if they were in fear of fierce neighbours. When *Mango Copac* and his sister came first into these naked lands, as they were persons of excellent shape and beauty, so they were adorned with such cloaths as continued afterwards the usual habit of the *Ynca's*, by which name they called themselves. They told the people who came first about them, that they were the son and daughter of the *Sun*, and that their father, taking pity of the miserable condition of mankind, had sent them down to reclaim them from those bestial lives, and to instruct them how to live happily and safely, by observing such laws, customs, and orders, as their father the *Sun* had commanded these his children to teach them. The great rule they first taught was, that every man should live according to reason, and consequently neither say nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them; because it was against all common reason, to make one law for ourselves, and another for other people. And this was the great principle of all their morality. In the next place, that they should worship the *Sun*, who took care of the whole world, gave life to all creatures,
and

and made the plants grow, and the herbs fit for food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good, as to spare no pains of his own, but to go round the world every day, to inspect and provide for all that was upon it, and had sent these his two children down on purpose, for the good and happiness of mankind, and to rule them with the same care and goodness that he did the world. After this, they taught them the arts most necessary for life, as *Mango Copac*, to sow *mayz* (or the common *Indian* grain) at certain seasons, to preserve it against others, to build houses against inclemencies of air, and danger of wild beasts, to distinguish themselves by wedlock into several families, to clothe themselves, so as to cover at least the shame of nakedness, to tame and nourish such creatures as might be of common use and sustenance. *Coya Mama* taught the women to spin and weave, both cotton, and certain coarse wools of some beasts among them.

With these instructions and inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of people, observed and obeyed like sons of the *Sun*, sent down from heaven to instruct and to govern them. *Mango Copac* had in his hand a rod of gold, about two foot long, and five inches round. He said, that his father, the *Sun*, had given it him, and bid him, when he travelled *northward* from the lake, he should every time he rested strike this wand down into the ground, and where at the first stroke it should go down to the very top, he should there build a temple to the *Sun*, and fix the seat of his government.

This fell out to be in the vale of *Cozco*, where he founded that city, which was head of this great kingdom of *Peru*.

Here he divided his company into two colonies or plantations, and called one the high *Casco*, and t'other

the low, and began here to be a lawgiver to those people. In each of these were at first a thousand families, which he caused all to be registered, with the numbers in each. This he did by strings of several colours, and knots of several kinds and colours upon them, by which, both accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expressed of their minds, as was necessary in government, where neither letters nor money, nor consequently disputes or avarice, with their consequences, ever entered.

He instituted decurions through both these colonies, that is, one over every ten families, another over fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five hundred, and a fifth over a thousand; and to this last they gave the name of a *Curaca* or Governor. Every decurion was a censor, a patron, and a judge or arbiter in small controversies among those under his charge. They took care that every one clothed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the *Ynca's*, from their father the *Sun*; among which one was, that none, who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after labour; and that none, who could not work, by age, sickness, or invalidity, should want, but be maintained by the others pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole empire of *Peru*, and during the long race of the *Ynca* Kings, no beggar was ever known, and no woman ever so much as went to see a neighbour, but with their work in their hands, which they followed all the time the visit lasted. Upon this, I remember a strain of refined civility among them, which was, that when any woman went to see another of equal, or ordinary birth, she worked at her own work in the other's house; but if she made a visit to any of the *Palla's* (which was the name by which they called all the women of the true royal blood, as *Ynca's* was that of the men) then they immediately desired the *Palla* to give them a piece of her

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own work, and the visit passed in working for her. Idleness, sentenced by the decurions, was punished by so many stripes in public, and the disgrace was more sensible than the pain. Every colony had one supreme judge, to whom the lower decurions remitted great and difficult cases, or to whom (in such case) the criminals appealed. But every decurion, that concealed any crime of those under his charge above a day and a night, became guilty of it, and liable to the same punishment. There were laws or orders likewise against theft, mutilations, murders, disobedience to officers, and adulteries (for every man was to have one lawful wife, but had the liberty of keeping other women, as he could.) The punishment of all crimes was either corporal pains, or death, but commonly the last, upon these two reasons which they gave; first, that all crimes whether great or small, were of the same nature, and deserved the same punishment, if they were committed against the divine commands, which were sent them down from the *Sun*: next, that to punish any man in his possessions or charges, and leave him alive, and in strength and liberty, was to leave an ill man more incensed, or necessitated to commit new crimes. On t'other side, they never forfeited the charge or possessions of a son for his father's offences, but the judges only remonstrated to him the guilt and punishment of them for his warning or example. These orders had so great force and effect, that many times a whole year passed without the execution of one criminal.

There is no doubt, but that, which contributed much to this great order in the State, was the disuse of other possessions than what were necessary to life, and the eminent virtue of their first great hero, or legislator, which seemed to have been entailed upon their whole race, in the course of their reign: so as in the whole length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true

Inca

Yuca was ever found guilty or punished for any crime. Thus particular qualities have been observed, in old *Rome*, to be constant in the same families for several hundred years, as goodness, clemency, love of the people, in that of the *Valerii*; haughtiness, pride, cruelty, and hatred of the people, in that of the *Appii*; which may come from the force of blood, of education, or example. 'Tis certain no government was ever established and continued by greater examples of virtue and severity, nor any ever gave greater testimonies, than the *Yuca's*, of an excellent institution, by the progresses and successes, both in the propagation and extent of empire, in force and plenty, in greatness and magnificence of all public works, as temples, palaces, high-ways, bridges, and in all provisions necessary to common ease, safety, and utility of human life: so as several of the Jesuits, and particularly *Acosta*, are either so just or so presuming as to prefer the civil constitutions of *Mango Copac* before those of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other lawgivers so celebrated in the more known parts of the world.

To every colony was assigned such a compass of land, whereof one part was appropriated to the *Sun*; a second to the widows, orphans, poor, old or maimed; a third to the peculiar maintenance of every family, according to their number; and a fourth to the *Yuca*. In this order the whole was tilled, and the harvest or product laid up in several granaries; out of which it was distributed by officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new seed issued out at the season for the new tillage.

Every decurion, besides the office of a censor and judge, had that likewise of a patron or solicitor, for relief of the necessities or wants of those under his charge. They were bound to give in to the public registers an account of all that were born, and of all that

that died under their charge. None was suffered to leave the colony or people he was born in, without leave, nor to change the habit commonly used in it (by some parts or marks whereof those of each province were distinguished.) None to marry out of it, no more than the *Ynca's* out of their own blood.

The *Ynca* that reigned was called *Capa Ynca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Sennor*, or *Only Lord*. He ever married the first of his female kindred, either sister, niece, or cousin, to preserve the line the purest they could. Once in two years he assembled all the unmarried *Ynca's*, men above twenty, and women above sixteen years old, and there in public married all such as he thought fit, by giving each of their hands one to the other. The same was done among the vulgar, by the *Curaca* of each people.

Every family, at their time of meals, eat with their doors open, so that all might see their temperance and order.

By these and other such laws and institutions, *Mango Copac* first settled his government or kingdom in the colonies of *Cozco*, which were in time multiplied into many others, by the willing confluence and recourse of many several people round about him, allured by the divine authority of his orders, by the sweetness and clemency of his reign, and by the felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole government of this race of the *Ynca's* was rather like that of a tender father over his children, or a just, careful, and well-natured guardian over pupils, than of a Lord or commander over slaves or subjects. By which they came to be so honoured or adored, that it was like sacrilege for any common person so much as to touch the *Ynca* without his leave; which was given as a grace to those who served him well, or to new subjects that submitted to him.

After

After the extent of his kingdom into great compasses of territory round *Cozco*, by voluntary submission of the people, as to some evangelical, rather than legal doctrines or institutions; *Mango Copac* assembled all his *Curaca*'s and told them, that his father the *Sun* had commanded him to extend his institutions and orders as far as he was able, for the good and happiness of mankind; and for that purpose, with armed troops to go to those remoter parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their observance. That the *Sun* had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happiness that was offered him by such divine bounty, but to distress only such as refused, without killing any that did not assail them, and then to do it justly in their own defence.

For this design, he formed and assembled troops of men, armed both with offensive, and chiefly with defensive weapons. He cast them into the order of decurions, in the same manner as he had done families; to every ten men was one officer, another to fifty, and another to one hundred, a fourth to five hundred, and a fifth to a thousand. There was a sixth over five thousand, and a seventh as a General over ten thousand; of which number his first army was composed.

With this and other such armies, he reduced many new territories under his empire, declaring to every people he approached, the same things he had done first to those who came about him near the great lake; and offering them the benefit of the arts he had taught, the orders he had instituted, the protection he had given his subjects, and the felicity they enjoyed under it. Those who submitted were received into the same rights and enjoyments, with the rest of his subjects. Those who refused were distressed, and pursued by his forces till they were necessitated to accept of his offers
and

and conditions. He used no offensive weapons against any till they attacked them, and then defensive only at first, till the danger and slaughter of his men grew otherwise unavoidable; then he suffered his forces to fall upon them, and kill without mercy, and not to spare even those that yielded themselves, after having so long and obstinately resisted. Those who submitted after the first threats, or distresses, or bloodless opposition, he received into grace, suffered them to touch his sacred person, made great and common feasts for them and his own soldiers together for several days, and then incorporated them into the body of his empire, and gave to each of them cloaths to wear, and corn to sow.

By these ways, and such heroic virtues, and by the length of his reign, he so far extended his dominions, as to divide them into four provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Ynca* to be a *Viceroy* (having many sons grown fit to command;) and in each of them established three supreme councils, the first of justice, the second of war, and the third of the revenue, of which an *Ynca* was likewise President, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored reign, *Mango Copac* fell into the last period of his life; upon the approach whereof he called together all his children and grand-children, with his eldest son to whom he left his kingdom; and told them, that for his own part he was going to repose himself with his father the *Sun*, from whom he came; that he advised and charged them all, to go on in the paths of reason and virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the same journey; that by this course only they would prove themselves to be true sons of the *Sun*, and be as such honoured and esteemed. He gave the same charge more especially and more earnestly to the *Ynca* his successor, and commanded him to govern his people according

according to his example, and the precepts he had received from the *Sun*; and to do it always with justice, mercy, piety, clemency, and care of the poor; and when he the Prince should go in time to rest with his father the *Sun*, that he should give the same instructions and exhortations to his successor. And this form was accordingly used in all the successions of the race of the *Inca's*, which lasted eight hundred years, with the same orders, and the greatest felicity that could be of any state.

I will say nothing of the greatness, magnificence, and riches of their buildings, palaces, or temples, especially those of the *Sun*; of the splendor of their Court, their triumphs after victories, their huntings and feasts, their military exercises and honours. But, as testimonies of their grandeur, mention only two of their high-ways, whereof one was five hundred leagues, plain and levelled through mountains, rocks and vallies, so that a carriage might drive through the whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or squared stone, fenced with low walls on each side, and set with trees, whose branches gave shade, and the fruits food, to all that passed.

I shall end this survey of their government, with one remark upon their religion, which is, that though the vulgar worshipped only the *Sun*, yet the *Amauta's*, who were their sages or philosophers, taught, that the *Sun* was only the great Minister of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the first place, and to whom a great and sumptuous temple was dedicated. This word is interpreted by the *Spaniard*, *Animador del mundo*: or, *He that animates or enlivens the world*, and seems to be yet a more refined notion of the deity, than that of the *Chineses*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the world. By this principle of their religion, as all the others of their government and policy, it must, I think, be allowed, that human nature is the same in these

these remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the world. That the different governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great reaches and strength of reason and of wisdom, as any of ours, and some of their frames less subject to be shaken by the passions, factions, and other corruptions, to which those in the middle scene of *Europe* and *Asia* have been so often and so much exposed. That the same causes produce every where the same effects, and that the same honours and obedience are in all places but consequences or tributes paid to the same heroic virtue, or transcendent genius, in what parts soever, or under what climates of the world, it fortunes to appear.

SECT. IV.

THE third survey I proposed to make, in this essay upon heroic virtue, was that of the *north-ern* region, which lies without the bounds of the *Euxine* and the *Caspian* seas, the river *Oxus* to the *East*, and the *Danube* to the *West*, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans* was called all by one general name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or subjects of the four great monarchies, otherwise than by the defeats or disgraces received in their expeditions against these fierce inhabitants of those barren countries. Such was the fatal overthrow of *Cyrus* and his army by the *eastern Scythians*, and the shameful flight of *Darius* from the *western*.

This vast region, which extends from the *north-east* ocean, that bounds *Cataya* and *China* to the *north-west*, that washes the coasts of *Norway*, *Sweland*, and some *northern* parts of *Germany*, though comprised by the ancients under the common name of *Scythia*, was distinguished into the *Asiatic* and the *European*, which

were divided by the river *Tanais*, and the mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous nations may be called the *eastern Scythians*, who lie on that side of the *Tanais*, or at least the *Volga*, and those the *western* that lie on this. Among the first the *Massagetae* were the most known or talked of by the ancient writers; and among the last the *Getae* and the *Sarmatae*. The first is now comprehended under the general name of *Great Tartary*, and the second under those of the *Lesser Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*,* and *Denmark*; the two last styling themselves *Kings of the Goths and Vandals*.

How far this vast territory is inhabited *northward* by any race of mankind, I think none pretend to know, nor, from how remote corners of those frozen mountains, some of those fierce nations first crept out, whose force and arms have been so known and felt by all the rest of what was of old called the habitable world,

Whether it be that the course of conquest has run generally from the *North* to the *South*, as from the harder upon the softer, or from the poorer upon the richer nations, because men commonly attack with greater fierceness and courage than they defend, being in one spirited by desire, and in the other usually damped by fear, I cannot tell; but certain it is how celebrated soever the four great monarchies have been, by the writings of so many famous authors, who have eternized their fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no part of the world that was ever subject to *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Greek*, or *Roman* empires (except perhaps some little islands) that has not been ravaged and conquered by some of those *northern* nations, whom they reckoned and despised as barbarous: nor where new empires, kingdoms, principalities, or governments, have not been by them erected upon the ruins of the old; which may justly mortify the pride of mankind, the depths of their reasonings, the reach of their politics,

tics, the wisdom of their laws, and force of their discipline, and may be allowed for a great and undisputed triumph of nature over art.

'Tis agreed in story, that the *Scythians* conquered the *Medes*, during the period of that race in the *Assyrian* empire, and were masters of *Asia* for fifteen years, 'till they returned home upon domestic occasions. That *Cyrus* was beaten and slain by their fury and revenge, under the leading of a woman, whose wit and conduct made a great figure in ancient story; that the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* race.

But the great hero of the eastern *Scythians* or *Tartars* I esteem to have been *Tamerlane*, and, whether he was son of a shepherd or a King, to have been the greatest conqueror that was ever in the world, at least that appears upon any present records of story. His achievements were great upon *China*, where he subdued many Provinces, and forced their King to such conditions of a peace, as he was content to impose. He made war against the *Muscovites* with the same success, and partly by force, partly by consent, gained a passage through their territories for that vast army, which he led against *Bajazet* (then the terror of the world.) He conquered this proud *Turk* and his whole empire, as far as the *Hellepont*, which he crossed, and made a visit to the poor *Greek* Emperor at *Constantinople*, who had sent to make alliance with him upon his first invasion of *Bajazet*, at whose mercy this Prince then almost lay, with the small remainders of the *Grecian* empire. Nothing was greater or more heroical in this victorious *Tamerlane*, than the faith and honour wherewith he observed this alliance with the *Greeks*; for having been received at *Constantinople* with all the submissions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the greatness and structure of that noble city, and said, it was fit to make the seat for

for the empire of the world, and having the offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to possess it for his own; yet, after many honours exchanged between these two Princes, he left this city in the freedom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the possessions he found them, went back into *Asia*, and in his return conquered *Syria*, *Persia*, and *India*, where the great *Moguls* have ever since boasted to be the race of *Tamerlane*. After all these conquests, he went home, and passed the rest of his age in his own native kingdom, and died a fair and natural death, which was a strain of felicity as well as greatness, beyond any of the conquerors of the four renowned monarchies of the world. He was, without question, a great and heroic genius, of great justice, exact discipline, generous bounty, and much piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Christian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deserves a nobler character than could be allowed by modern writers to any person of a nation so unlike themselves.

The *Turks* were another race of these *eastern Scythians*, their original countries being placed by some upon the *north-east*, by others upon the *north-west* coast of the *Caspian* sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furnish such numbers as have over-run so great a part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. But I shall have occasion to say more of them and their conquests in the next section.

That part of *Scythia* that lies between the two rivers of the *Volga* and *Boristhenes*, whereof the one runs into the *Caspian*, and t'other into the *Euxine* sea, was the seat of the *Getae*, whom *Herodotus* mentions, as then known by the name of *Getae Immortales*, because they believed that, when they died, they should go to *Zamolxis*, and enjoy a new life in another world, at least such of them as lived according to his orders and institutions, who had been a great Prince or lawgiver among them. From this name of *Getae* came that of
Gothæ;

Gothæ; and this part of *Scythia*, in its whole northern extent, I take to have been the vast hive out of which issued so many mighty swarms of barbarous nations, who under the several names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgars*, *Franks*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at several times and places upon the several Provinces of the *Roman* empire, like so many tempests, tore in pieces the whole fabric of that government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the inhabitants, language, customs, laws, the usual names of places and of men, and even the very face of nature where they came, and planted new nations and dominions in their room. Thus *Italy*, after many spoils and invasions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be possessed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*, the southern parts of *Spain* or *Andaluzia* by the *Vandals*, the *East* or *Catalonia* by the *Catti* and *Alani*; the rest of that continent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was subdued by the *Franks*, and *Britain* by the *Saxons*; both which nations are thought to have come anciently from the more northern regions, and seated themselves in those parts of *Germany* that were afterwards called by their names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their later conquests. The *Scutes* who conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and possessed them under the names of *Albin Scutes*, and *Iron Scutes*, I guess to have come from *Norway*, and to have retained more of the ancient *Scythians* (before the *Goths* came into those parts) both in their language and habit, as that of mantles, and in the custom of removing from one part to another, according to the seasons or conveniencies of pasture. The *Normans*, that came into *France*, I take likewise to be a later race from *Norway*, but after the *Gothic* orders and institutions have gained more footing in that Province.

The writers of those times content themselves to lay the disgraces and ruins of their countries, upon the numbers

numbers and fierceness of these savage nations that invaded them, or upon their own disunions and disorders, that made way for so easy conquests: but I cannot believe, that the strange successes and victorious progresses of these northern conquerors should have been the effect only of tumultuary arms and numbers, or that governments erected by them, and which have lasted so long in *Europe*, should have been framed by unreasonable or unthinking men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them some force of order, some reach of conduct, as well as some principle of courage above the common strain; that so strange adventures could not be achieved, but by some enchanted Knights.

That, which first gave me this thought, was the reflexion upon those verses in *Lucan*.

——— *Populos quos despicit arctos*
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus baud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animique capaces
Mortis, et ignavum reditura parcere vitæ.

Happy in their mistake those people whom
The northern pole aspects, whom fear of death
(The greatest of all human fears) ne'er moves;
From hence their courage prone to rush on steel,
Their minds despising death, that think it mean
To spare a life that must again return.

By this passage it appears, that sixteen hundred years ago, those northern people were distinguished from all others, by a fearlessness of death, grounded upon the belief of another life, which made them despise the care of preserving this.

Whether such an opinion were first infused among them by *Zamolxis*, and propagated by *Odin* among his

his followers, or by him invented, I will not conjecture; it may have been either one or t'other, since the *Goths* he led into the northwest parts of *Europe* are agreed to have come from the *Getae*, who are placed near the river *Tanais*. For those vast *Scythian* regions were divided into infinite several nations, separated by the common natural bounds of rivers, lakes, mountains, woods, or marshes. Each of these countries was like a mighty hive, which by the vigour of propagation, and health of climate, growing too full of people, threw out some new swarm at certain periods of time, that took wing, and sought out some new abode, expelling or subduing the old inhabitants, and seating themselves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of life they met with; if not, going on till they found some other more agreeable to their present humours or dispositions. Sometimes the expelled nations took heart, and, when they fled from one country, invaded another, and revenged the injuries of some cruel neighbours, upon others that were weaker, but more innocent; and so, like waves, thrust on one the other, for mighty length of space or countries. Sometimes the conquerors augmented their numbers and forces with the strongest and most adventurous of those nations they first invaded, by their voluntary accession into the shares or hopes of their future fortunes, and so went on to further conquests.

The usual manner of these expeditions was, that, when a country grew too full of people for the growth of it to supply, they assembled together all that were fit to bear arms, and divided themselves into two bands, whereof one staid at home to inhabit and defend their own, and t'other went to seek new adventures, and possess some other they could gain by force of arms; and this was done sometimes by lot, and sometimes by agreement between the two divisions. That band or colony,

colony, that went abroad, chose their leader among those in most repute and esteem for wisdom or for courage, and these were their commanders or generals in war; and, if they lived and succeeded, were the first Princes of those countries they conquered, and chose, for the seat of their new colony or kingdom.

It seems agreed by the curious inquirers into the antiquities of the *Runic* language and learning, that

Odin

Excerpta ex Edda.

Hic Odinus fatidicus erat, ut et ejus conjux unde nomen suum in Septentrione prae cunctis Regibus maxime celebratum iri praevidit. Hac motus causâ ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto sibi magno numero militum juvenum et seniorum utriusque sexûs. Quaecunque terras peragrarunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, diis quam hominibus similiores ab universis judicati, nec prius subsisterunt quam terram ingressi essent quae nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, istamque regionem latè possedit, quam cum distribuisset inter filios, ita ut Vagdeggo orientalem Saxoniam, Begdeggo Westphalam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; ipse in aliam migravit regionem, quae tunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, et quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindicavit. Huic terrae praefecit filium Skioldam ex quo Freidlesus genitus est cujus posterî Skioldungar sive Skioldiades nominantur à qua stirpe Daniae reges descenderunt, ista Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus heros in Asgardia prope Tanaim, sacrorum gentilium summus antistes, duodecim senatores qui caeteris pietate et sapientia praestarent religioni curandae et juri dicundo praefecit. Hic magnanimus et fortis bellator innumera regna ditionesque suam redegit in potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus suis regnum Asgardiae commisit, ipse in Russiam profectus et inde in Saxoniam, eam sibi subjugavit, et filiis in regendum commisit. Inauditi generis miracula variis exercuit praestigiis, Magisterium publicum Magiae praecipienda instituit: in varias formarum species se transmutare noverat, tanta eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram

fermoni

Odin or *Woden* or *Goden* (according to the different northern dialects) was the first and great hero of the western *Scythians*. That he led a mighty swarm of the *Getes* under the name of *Goths*, from the *Asiatic Scythia* into the farthest northwest parts of *Europe*, that he seated and spread his kingdom round the whole *Baltic* sea, and over all the islands in it, and extended it westward to the ocean, and southward to the *Elbe* (which was anciently esteemed the bound between the *Scythians* and the *Germans*.) That this vast country was in the ancient *Gothic* term called *Biarmia*, and is by some authors termed *Officina Gentium*, having furnished all those swarms of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, and *Normians*, which so often infested, and at length subdued all the western provinces of *Europe*. Some write, that he extended his conquests even as far as *Franconia* itself; but all agree, that this *Odin* was the first inventor of, at least the first engraver of, the *Runic* letters or characters, sometimes so famous, and at last so infamous in the world, by the vulgar opinion and imputation of all sorts of charms, enchantments, or witchcrafts, to the use and force of those strange characters. That he instituted many excellent orders and laws, made the distinction of seasons, the divisions of time, was an invincible warrior, a wise lawgiver, loved and obeyed during life by his subjects, and after his death adored as one of their

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three

sermoni gratiam conciliabat: tanta ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut saepe corpus suum velut spiritu suppresso humi prosterneret, exiguans se longinquas oras peragrassè, et quid ibi rerum gereretur comperisse asseverabat. Ad summum Runis suis et incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum sibi nomen peperit, ut sapientiae et potentiae suae et Asianorum per omnes brevi nationes sit debitorum, quo evenit ut Sueti aliqui populi Boreales Odino sacrificia dependerent. Post obitum multis apparuit, multis victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id est, aulam Plutonis invitavit.

three chief gods, amongst which he was the god of war, *Thor* of thunder and tempests, *Frea* of pleasure; by whose names, for an eternal memory, three days of the week are called.

I will not enter into his story, nor that of his succession, or the infinite and famous revolutions it produced in the world, nor into the more curious search of the time of his expedition, which must have been very ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined: but, if it be true that he was inventor of the *Runic* characters, some writers of that language will make him older than *Evander*; by affirming their *Runic* letters to have been more ancient than the *Latin*, which were first brought into *Italy* in his time. For my own part, I should guess, by all I have perused of those antiquities, that this expedition may have been made two thousand years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long periods of time in use, upon materials more lasting than any others employed to that purpose; for instead of leaves, or barks, or wax, or parchments, these were engraven upon stones, or planks of oaks, upon artificial obelisks or pillars, and even upon natural rocks, in great numbers and extent of lines. But more of this *Runic* subject will occur upon that of poetry; and I shall only observe, among the constitutions of these northern people, three principles of a strain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themselves, and which extended very far into the fortunes and conquests of their arms, and into the force and duration of their kingdoms. The first of these is a principle of religion or superstition, the next of learning, and the last of policy or civil government.

Whether the first were deduced from that of *Zamolxis* among the *Getes*, styled of old, immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the western *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an opinion was fixed and general among them,

them, that death was but the entrance into another life; that all men who lived lazy and unactive lives, and died natural deaths, by sickness, or by age, went into vast caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noisom creatures, usual in such places, and there for ever grovelled in endless stench and misery. On the contrary, all who gave themselves to warlike actions and enterprises, to the conquests of their neighbours, and slaughter of enemies, and died in battle, or of violent deaths upon bold adventures or resolutions, they went immediately to the vast hall or palace of *Odin*, their god of war, who eternally kept open house for all such guests, where they were entertained at infinite tables, in perpetual feasts and mirth, carousing every man in bowls made of the skulls of their enemies they had slain, according to which numbers, every one in these mansions of pleasure was the most honoured and the best entertained.

How this opinion was printed in the minds of these fierce mortals, and what effect it had upon their thoughts and passions, concerning life and death, as it is touched elegantly, in those verses of *Lucan* before recited, so it is lively represented in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth *Stanza's* of that song or epicedium of *Rednor Ladbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which he composed in the *Runic* language about eight hundred years ago, after he was mortally stung by a serpent, and before the venom seized upon his vitals. The whole sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deserved from the commonwealth of learning) and is very well worth reading, by any that love poetry; and to consider the several stamps of that coin, according to several ages and climates. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that such an alacrity or pleasure in dying was never expressed in any other writing, nor imagined among

among any other people. The two *Stanza's* are thus translated into *Latin* by *Olaus*.

Stanza XXV.

*Pugnāvimus ensibus,
Hoc ridere me facit semper
Quod Balderi patris scamna
Parata scio in aula,
Bibimus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.*

Stanza XXIX.

*Fert animus finire,
Irritant me Dyse
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Letus cerevisiam cum Afis
In summa sede bibam,
Vitæ elapsæ sunt boræ,
Ridens moriar.*

I am deceived, if in this sonnet, and a following ode of *Scallogrim* (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to die, and deserved his pardon for a reward) there be not a vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, fashions, opinions, and languages of such distant countries.

I will not trouble myself with more passages out of these *Runic* poems, concerning this superstitious principle, which is so perfectly represented in these, with the

the possession it had taken of the noblest souls among them; for such this *Ladbrog* appears to have been, by his perpetual wars and victories in those northern continents, and in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. But I will add a testimony of it, which was given me at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenstern*, the first of the *Swedish* Ambassadors in that assembly. In discourse upon this subject, and confirmation of this opinion having been general among the *Goths* of those countries; he told me, there was still in *Sweden* a place which was a memorial of it, and was called *Odin's-hall*. That it was a great bay in the sea, encompassed on three sides with steep and ragged rocks; and that, in the time of the *Gothic* paganism, men that were either sick of diseases they esteemed mortal, or incurable, or else grown invalid with age, and thereby past all military action, and fearing to die meanly and basely (as they esteemed it) in their beds, they usually caused themselves to be brought to the nearest part of these rocks, and from thence threw themselves down into the sea, hoping, by the boldness of such a violent death, to renew the pretence of admission in the hall of *Odin*, which they had lost, by failing to die in combat and by arms.

What effect such a principle (sucked in with instruction and education, and well believed) must have upon the passions and actions of a people naturally strong and brave, is easy to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the strains of the boldest and firmest philosophy; for this reached no farther than constancy in death, or indifferency in the opinion of that, or of life; but the other infused a scorn of life, and a desire of death; nay, fear and aversion even for a natural death, with pursuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general opinions of all other nations;) so as they took delight in war and dangers, as others did in hunting, or such active sports, and fought as much for the hopes of death, as of victory, and found

as much pleasure in the supposed advantages and consequences of one, as in the real enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new motions, or designs, fearless and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in battle to preserve their lives longer than to increase the slaughter of their enemies, and thereby their own renown here, and felicity hereafter.

Their decisions of right and just were by arms, and mortal combats allowed by laws, approved by Princes, assisted by formal judges, and determined by death or victory. From hence came all those jousts, and tiltings, and tournaments, so long in use, and so much celebrated in these parts of the world; their marriage-feasts were solemnized by launces and swords, by blows, by wounds, and sometimes by death, till that custom was disgraced by the deplorable end of *Henry II. of France*, and the fatal lance of *Montgomery*. From hence came the long use of legal and of single combats, when the right of titles or lands was difficult; or when a person, accused of any crime, denied absolutely what his accuser positively affirmed, and no other proof could, on either side, be produced. 'Tis known in story, how long and how frequent this was in use among all the *Gothic* races, and in the several kingdoms or principalities erected by them, even after the profession of Christianity among them. When it grew too infamous upon the entrance of learning and civility, and the laws were ashamed of allowing trials of blood and violence, yet the custom could not be extinguished, but made way for that of private duels, and for the lye being accounted a just ground of fighting in point of honour, because it had been so in point of law, during the barbarous ages. This seems to have begun upon the famous challenge that passed between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* which though without effect, yet 'tis enough known, and lamented, how much of the bravest blood of Christendom has been

been spilt by that example, especially in *France*, during the several succeeding reigns, till it seems to have been extinguished by the just severity, and to the just honour of the present King.

But to return to the bold authors of these customs (unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* nations). Their bodies indeed were hard and strong, their minds rough and fierce, their numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their climate. But, besides these advantages, their courage was undaunted, their business was war, their pleasures were dangers, their very sports were martial: their disputes and processes were decided by arms; they feared nothing but too long life, decays of age, and a natural or slothful death; any violent or bloody they desired and pursued, and all this from their opinion of one being succeeded by miseries, the other by felicities, of a future and a longer life.

For my own part, when I consider the force of this principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous conquests, nor immensity of countries they subdued, nor that such strange adventures should have been finished by such enchanted men. But when Christianity, introduced among them, gave an end to these delusions, the restless humour of perpetual wars and actions was likewise allayed, and they turned their thoughts to the establishment of their several kingdoms, in the provinces they had subdued and chosen for their seats, and applied themselves to the orders and constitutions of their civil or political governments.

Their principle of learning was, that all they had among them was applied to the knowledge and distinction of seasons, by the course of the stars, and to the prognostics of weather, or else to the praises of virtue, which consisted among them only, in justice to their own nation, and valour against their enemies; and the rest was employed in displaying the brave and heroic

roic exploits of their princes and leaders, and the prowess and conquests of their nation: all their writings were composed in verse, which were called *Runes* or *Viises*, and from thence the term of wise came: and these poets or writers, being esteemed the sages among them, were, as such, always employed in the attendance upon their Princes, both in courts and camps, being used to advise in their conduct, and to record their actions, and celebrate their praises and triumphs. The traces of these customs have been seen within the compass of this very age, both in *Hungary* and *Ireland*, where, at their feasts, it was usual to have these kind of poets entertain the company with their rude songs, or panegyrics of their ancestors bold exploits, among which, the number of men, that any of them had slain with their own hands, was the chief ingredient in their praises. By these, they rewarded the prowess of the old men among them, and inflamed the courage of the young, to equal the boldness and achievements of those that had travelled before them in these paths of glory.

The principle of politic or civil government, in these northern nations, seems derived from that which was military among them. When a new swarm was upon the wing, they chose a Leader or General for the expedition; and, at the same time, the chief officers to command the several divisions of their troops; these were a council of war to the General, with whom they advised in the whole progress of their enterprise; but, upon great occasions, as a pitched battle, any military exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a country to fix their seat, or the conditions of peace that were proposed, they assembled their whole troops, and consulted with all the soldiers or people they commanded. This *Tacitus* observes to have been in use among the *German* Princes in his time, to consult of smaller

smaller affairs with the chief officers, but *de majoribus omnes*.

If a leader of these colonies succeeded in his attempts, and conquered a new country, where, by common consent, they thought fit to reside, he grew a Prince of that country, while he lived; and, when he died, another was chosen to succeed him by a general election. The lands of the subdued territory were divided into greater and smaller shares, besides that reserved to the Prince and government. The great were given to the chief officers of the army, who had best deserved, and were most esteemed; the smaller to the common or private soldiers. The natives conquered were wholly despoiled of their lands, and reckoned but as slaves by the conquerors, and so used for labour and servile offices, and those of the conquering nation were the freemen. The great sharers, as chief officers, continued to be the council of the Prince in matters of state, as they had been before in matters of war; but, in the great affairs, and of common concernment, all, that had the smaller shares in land, were assembled and advised with. The first great shares were, in process of time, called baronies, and the small, fees.

I know very well how much critic has been employed, by the most learned, as *Erasmus*, *Selden*, *Spelman*, as well as many others, about the two words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much pains have been taken, to deduce them from the *Latin*, *Greek*, and even the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues; but I find no reason, after all they have said, to make any doubt of their having been both the original of the *Gothic* or *northern* language; or of *Baron* having been a term of dignity, of command, or of honour, among them; and *Feudum*, of a soldier's share of land. I find the first used above eight hundred years ago, in the verses mentioned of King *Lodbrog*, when one of his exploits was, to have conquered eight Barons. And, though

fees or *feuda* were in use under later *Roman* Emperors, yet they were derived from the *Gothic* customs, after so great numbers of those nations were introduced into the *Roman* armies, and employed, upon the decline of that empire, against other more barbarous invasions. For, of all the *northern* nations, the *Goths* were esteemed the most civil, orderly, and virtuous, and are for such commended by St. *Austin* and *Salvian*, who makes their conquests to have been given them by the justice of God, as a reward of their virtue, and a punishment upon the *Roman* provinces for the viciousness and corruptions of their lives and governments. So as it is no wonder if many *Gothic* words and customs entered early into the *Roman* empire.

As to the word *Baro*, it is not, that I find, at all agreed among the learned, from whence to derive it, and the objections, raised against their several conjectures, seem better grounded than the arguments for any of them. But, what that term imported, is, out of their several accounts, easy to collect, and confirmed by what still remains in all the constitutions of the *Gothic* governments. For, though by *Barons* are now meant in *England* such as are created by patent, and thereby called to the house of Lords; and *Baron* in *Spanish* signifies only a man of note or worth; and the quality denoted by that title be different in the several countries of Christendom; yet there is no question, but they were originally such persons as, upon the conquest of a country, were by the conquering Prince invested in the possession of certain tracts or proportions of free lands, or at least such as they held by no other tenure, but that of military service, or attendance upon the Prince in his wars, with a certain number of armed men. These in *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, seem to have had, and some still to retain, a sovereign power in their territories, by the exercise of what is called

called high and low justice, or the power of judging criminal as well as civil causes, and inflicting capital punishments among those that held under them, either as vassals or in fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in *England*, though the great Barons had not only great numbers of Knights but even petty Barons holding under them.

I think the whole realm of *England* was by *William* the conqueror divided into baronies, however the distinctions may have been long since worn out: but in *Ireland* they still remain, and every county there is divided into so many baronies, which seem to have been the shares of the first Barons. And such as these great proprietors of land composed, in all these *north-west* regions, one part in the States of the country or kingdom.

Now for the word *Barons*, though it be a presumption to assert any thing after the doubts or unresolved disputes of such learned men: yet I shall adventure to give my own opinion, how different soever from any that has been yet advanced. I find in *Guagnini's* description of *Sarmatia*, printed in the year 1581, that in the several dukedoms, palatinates, or principalities, which then composed the mighty empire of *Muscovy*, those persons who were the chief in possessions of lands, offices, or dignities among them next to the Prince, Duke, or Palatine, were by one common appellation called his *Boiarons*, as those of the same sort or quality in the present Court of the Great Dukes are now termed his *Boiars*, which may be a corrupt or particular dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any man, that tries how easy a change is made in the contraction of *Boiarons* into *Barons*, which is but of the two first syllables into one, and that with an *A* long, as *Barons* is commonly used: and those countries, above mentioned, having been the seats of our conquering *Goths*, I am apt to think their *Boiarons* grew,

grew, with their conquests, to be the original Barons in all those several nations or dominions where they were extended.

From the divisions, forms, and institutions already deduced, will naturally arise and plainly appear the frame and constitution of the *Gothic* government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before known or observed in story; but so universal among these *northern* nations, that it was under the names of King, or Prince, or Duke and his estates, established in all parts of *Europe* from the *north-east* of *Poland* and *Hungary* to the *south-west* of *Spain* and *Portugal*, though these vast countries had been subdued by so many several expeditions of these *northern* people, at such diverse times, and under so different appellations, and it seems to have been invented or instituted by the sages of the *Goths*, as a government of freemen, which was the spirit or character of the *north-west* nations, distinguishing them from those of the *South* and the *East*, and gave the name of the *Franks* among them.

I need say nothing of this constitution, which is so well known in our island, and was anciently the same with ours in *France* and *Spain*, as well as *Germany* and *Sweden*, where it still continues, consisting of a King or a Prince who is sovereign both in peace and war, of an assembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his council, and another of the commons, who are the representative of all that are possessed of free-lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the occasions or affairs of the greatest and common concern to the nation. I am apt to think that the possession of land was the original right of election or representative among the commons, and that cities and boroughs were intitled to it, as they were possessed of certain tracts of land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in *Friesland*,

land, the seat from whence our *Gothic* or *Saxon* ancestors came into these islands. For the ancient seat of the *Gothic* kingdom was of small or no trade; nor *England* in their time. Their humours and lives were turned wholly to arms, and, long after the *Norman* conquest, all the trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards* or *Milaners*; so as the right of boroughs seem not to have risen from regards of trade, but of land, and were places where so many freemen inhabited together, and had such a proportion of land belonging to them. However it be, this constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great wisdom and equity, and as the truest and justest temper that has been ever found out between dominion and liberty; and it seems to be a strain of what *Heracitus* said was the only skill or knowledge of any value in the politics, which was the secret of governing all by all.

This seems to have been intended by these *Gothic* constitutions, and by the election and representation of all that possessed lands: for, since a country is composed of the land it contains, they esteemed a nation to be so, of such as were the possessors of it. And what Prince soever can hit of this great secret, needs know no more, for his own safety and happiness, or that of the people he governs. For no State or government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private factions, which is grounded upon the general consent and satisfaction of the subjects, unless it be wholly subdued by the force of armies; and then the standing armies have the place of subjects, and the government depends upon the contented or discontented humours of the soldiers in general, which has more sudden and fatal consequences upon the revolutions of State, than those of subjects in unarmed governments. So the *Roman*, *Egyptian*, and *Turkish* empires appear to have always turned upon the arbitrary wills and wild humours of the *Prætorian* bands, the *Mamalukes*,
and

and the *Janizaries*. And so I pass from the *Scythian* conquests and *Gothic* constitutions, to those of the *Arabians* or *Mahometans*, in the world.

SECT. V.

THE last survey I proposed of the four outlying (or, if the learned so please to call them, barbarous) empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different nature from all the rest, being built upon foundations wholly enthusiastic, and thereby very unaccountable to common reason, and in many points contrary even to human nature; yet few others have made greater conquests or more sudden growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* empire; but having been of later date, and the course of it engaged in perpetual wars with the Christian Princes, either of the *East* or *West*, of the *Greek* or the *Latin* churches, both the original and progress of it have been easily observed, and are most vulgarly known, having been the subject of many modern writers, and several well digested histories or relations; and therefore I shall give but a very summary account of both.

About the year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a man of mean parentage and condition, illiterate, but of great spirit and subtle wit, like those of the climate or country where he was born or bred, which was that part of *Arabia* called the *Happy*, esteemed the loveliest and sweetest region of the world, and like those blessed seats so finely painted by the poet,

*Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
Aspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilis æther
Contegit, et latè diffuso lumine ridet.*

He was servant to a rich merchant of this country, and after his master's death, having married his widow, came to be possessed of great wealth, and of a numerous family: among others, he had entertained in it a *Sergian* monk, or at least called by that name, whose vicious and libertine dispositions of life had made him leave his inclosure and profession, but otherwise a man of great learning. *Mabomet* was subject to fits of an epilepsy or falling sickness, and, either by the customs of that climate, or the necessity of that disease, very temperate and abstaining from wine, but in the rest voluptuous and dissolute. He was ashamed of his disease, and, to disguise it from his wife and family, pretended his fits were trances into which he was cast at certain times by God Almighty, and in them instructed in his will, and his true worship and laws, by which he would be served; and that he was commanded to publish them to the world, to teach them, and see them obeyed.

About this age all the Christian Provinces of the *East* were over-run with *Arianism*, which, however refined or disguised by its learned professors and advocates, either denied or undermined the divinity of *Christ*, and allowed only his prophetic office. The countries of *Arabia* and *Egypt* were filled with great numbers of the scattered *Jews*, who, upon the last destruction of their country in *Adrian's* time, had fled into these Provinces, to avoid the ruin and even extinction which was threatening their nation by that Emperor, who, after all the desolations he made in *Judea*, transported what he could of their remaining numbers into *Spain*. The rest of *Arabia* and *Egypt* was inhabited by *Gentiles*, who had little sense left of their decayed and derided idolatry, and had turned their thoughts and lives to luxury and pleasure, and to the desires and acquisition of riches, in order to those ends. *Mabomet*, to humour and comply with these three sorts of men, and
by

by the assistance of the monk his only confident, framed a scheme of religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock, the common opinions and dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own temper and designs.

He professed one God creator of the world, and who governed all things in it. That God had in ancient times sent *Moses* his first and great prophet to give his laws to mankind, but that they were neither received by the *Gentiles*, nor obeyed by the *Jews* themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the occasion of the misfortunes and captivities that so often befell them. That in the later ages he had sent Christ, who was the second prophet, and greater than *Moses*, to preach his laws and observance of them, in greater purity, but to do it with gentleness, patience, and humility, which had found no better reception or success among men than *Moses* had done. That for this reason God had now sent his last and greatest prophet *Mahomet*, to publish his laws and commands with more power, to subdue those to them by force and violence who should not willingly receive them, and for this end to establish a kingdom upon earth that should propagate this divine law and worship throughout the world: that, as God had designed utter ruin and destruction to all that refused them, so, to those that professed and obeyed them, he had given the spoils and possessions of his and their enemies, as a reward in this life, and had provided a paradise hereafter, with all sensual enjoyments, especially of beautiful women new created for that purpose; but with more transcendent degrees of pleasure and felicity to those that should die in the pursuit and propagation of them, through the rest of the world, which should in time submit or be subdued under them. These, with the severe prohibition of drinking wine, and the principle of predestination, were the first

first and chief doctrines and institutions of *Mahomet*, and which were received with great applause, and much confluence of *Arians*, *Jews*, and *Gentiles* in those parts; some contributing to the rise of his kingdom, by the belief of his divine mission and authority; many, by finding their chief principles or religious opinions contained or allowed in them; but most, by their voluptuousness and luxury, their passions of avarice, ambition, and revenge being thereby complied with. After his fits or trances, he writ the many several parts or chapters of his *Alcoran*, as newly inspired and dictated from heaven, and left in them that which to us, and in its translations, looks like a wild fanatic rhapsody of his visions or dreams, or rather of his fantastical imaginations and inventions, but has ever passed among all his followers, as a book sacred and divine; which shews the strange difference of conceptions among men.

To be short, this contagion was so violent, that it spread from *Arabia* into *Egypt* and *Syria*, and his power increased with such a sudden growth as well as his doctrine, that he lived to see them overspread both those countries, and a great part of *Persia*; the decline of the old *Roman* empire making easy way for the powerful ascent of this new comet, that appeared with such wonder and terror in the world, and with a flaming sword made way where-ever it came, or laid all desolate that opposed it.

Mahomet left two branches of his race for succession, which was in both esteemed divine among his *Mussulmans* or followers: the one was continued in the *Caliphs* of *Persia*, and the other of *Egypt* and *Arabia*. Both these, under the common appellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful progress, the one to the *East*, and the other to the *West*.

The *Roman* empire, or rather the remainders of it, seated at *Constantinople*, and afterwards called the *Greek*,

was for some times past, most cruelly infested, and in many parts shaken to pieces, by the invasions or incursions of many barbarous *northern* nations, and thereby disabled from any vigorous opposition to this new and formidable enemy. Besides, the divisions among Christians made way for their conquests, and the great increase of *Profelytes*, in this new religion. The *Arians*, persecuted in the *eastern* provinces by some of the *Greek* Emperors (of the same faith with the *western* or *Roman* Church) made easy turns to the *Mabometan* doctrines, that professed Christ to have been so great and so divine a prophet, which was all in a manner that they themselves allowed him. The cruel persecutions of the other *Grecian* Princes against those Christians, that would not admit the use of images, made great numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that worship as much as themselves. The *Jews* were allured by the profession of unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Christian faith, and by the great honour that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moses*, as a prophet and a lawgiver sent immediately from God into the world. The *Pagans* met with an opinion of the old gentilism, in that of predestination, which was the *Stoic* principle, and that whereinto unhappy men commonly fell, and sought for refuge in the uncertain conditions or events of life, under tyrannical and cruel governments. So as some *Roman* authors observe, that the reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Nero* made more *Stoics* in *Rome*, than the precepts of *Zeno*, *Chrysippus*, and *Cleanthes*.

The great extent and power of the *Persian* branch or empire continued long among the *Saracens*, but was over-run at length by the *Turks* first, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whose race continued there till the time of *Ishmael*, from whom the present *Sophies* are derived. This *Ishmael* was an enthusiast, or at least a pretender to new revelations in the *Mabometan*

hometan religion. He professed to reform both their doctrines and their manners, and taught, that *Haly* alone, of *Mahomet's* followers, ought to be owned and believed as his true successor, which made the *Persians* ever since esteem the *Turks* for Heretics, as the *Turks* do them. He gained so many followers, by his new and refined principles, or professions of devotion, that he made himself King of *Persia*, by the same way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez*, about *Charles V.'s* time, and *Cromwell* to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be great Mogul in our age, which were the four great dominions of the fanatic strain.

The *Arabian* branch of the *Saracen* empire, after a long and mighty growth in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, seems to have been at its height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illustrious and renowned hero of this race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in learning, virtue, piety, and native goodness, as in power, in valour, and in empire. Yet this was extended from *Arabia*, through *Egypt*, and all the northern tracts of *Africa*, as far as the western ocean, and over all the considerable provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his time, and by his victorious ensigns, that the *Gothic* kingdom in *Spain* was conquered, and the race of those famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that country was reduced under the *Saracen* empire (except the mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwards divided into several *Moorish* kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* forces, after the conquest of *Spain*, invaded the southern parts of *France*, and proceeded with the same success as far as *Tours*, till they were beaten and expelled by *Charles Martel*, who, by those exploits, raised his renown so high, as to give him the ambition of leaving the kingdom of *France* to his own line, in *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, by the deposition

tion and extinction of the first race, which had lasted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler character of any Prince, than of this great *Almanzor*, in some *Spanish* authors, or translators of his story out of the *Arabian* tongue, wherein the learning then remaining in the world flourished most; and that of ancient *Greece*, as it had been translated into their language, so it seems to have been, by the acuteness and excellency of those more *southern* wits, in some parts very much improved.

This kingdom continued great under the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, who, degenerating from the example and virtues of *Almanzor*, came to be hated of their subjects, and to secure themselves from them, by a mighty guard of *Circassian* slaves. These were brought young from the country now called *Mengrelia*, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, the antient seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in past and present times, been observed to produce the bravest bodies of men, and most beautiful of women, in all the *eastern* regions. These slaves were called *Mamaluks* when they came into *Egypt*, and were brought up with care, and in all exercises and discipline, that might render them the most martial troops or bands of soldiers, that could any where be composed, and so they proved. The commander of this mighty band or guard of *Mamaluks* was called their *Sultan*, who was absolute over them, as the General of an army is in time of war. They served, for some time, to support the government of the *Caliphs*, and enslave the *Egyptians*, till one of the *Sultans*, finding his own power, and the general disesteem wherein the *Caliph* was fallen by the effeminate softness or luxury of his life, deposed him first, then slew him, and took upon himself the government of *Egypt*, under the name of *Sultan*, and reigned by the sole force and support of his *Mamaluc* troops, which were

were continually increased by the merchandise, and transportation of *Circassian* slaves. This government lasted, with great terror in *Egypt*, between two and three hundred years, during which time, the new *Sultans* were elected, upon the death or deposing of the old, by the choice of the *Mamaluks*, and always out of their own bands. The sons of the deceased *Sultans* enjoyed the estates and riches left by their fathers; but, by the constitutions of the government, no son of a *Sultan* was ever either to succeed, or even to be elected *Sultan*; so that, in this, contrary to all others ever known in the world, to be born of a Prince was a certain and unalterable exclusion from the kingdom; and none was ever to be chosen *Sultan* that had not been actually sold for a slave, brought from *Circassia*, and trained up a private soldier in the *Mamaluc* bands. Yet of so base metal were formed several men who made mighty figures in their age, and no nation made so brave a resistance against the growing empire of the *Turks*, as these *Mamaluks* did under their *Sultans*, till they were conquered by *Selim*, after a long war, which looked in story like the combat of some fierce tiger with a savage boar, while the country that is wasted by them are lookers-on, and little concerned, under whose dominion and cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among authors, whether the *Turks* were first called into *Asia* by the *Greek* or the *Persian* Emperors; but 'tis by all, that, falling down in great numbers, they revolted from the assistance of their friends, set up for themselves, embraced the Mahometan religion, and improved the principles of that sect; by new orders and inventions (cast wholly for conquest and extent of empire) they framed a kingdom, which, under the *Ottoman* race, subdued both the *Greek* empire, and that of the *Arabians*, and rooted itself in all those vast dominions as it continues to this day, with the addition of many other provinces to
their

their kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahometan belief. So this empire of the *Turks*, like a fresh graft upon one branch of a vigorous stock, covered wholly upon that which it was grafted, and out-grew, in time, the other which was natural, as the *Persian* branch.

The chief principles, upon which this fierce government was founded and raised to such a height, were first those of *Mahomet*, already deduced, which, by their sensual paradise and predestination, were great incentives of courage and of enterprize, joined to the spoils of the conquered, both in their lands, their goods, and their liberties, which were all seized at the pleasure of the conqueror.

A second was, a belief infused of divine designation of the *Ottoman* line, to reign among them for extent of their territories, and propagation of their faith. This made him esteemed, at least by adoption, as a successor of *Mahomet*, and both a sovereign lawgiver in civil (and with the assistance of his musti) a supreme judge in all religious matters. And this principle was so far improved among these people, that they held obedience to be given in all things to the will of their *Ottoman* Prince, as to the will of God, by whom they thought him designed; and that they were bound not only to obey his commands with any hazard of their lives against enemies, but even by laying down their own whenever he commanded, and with the same resignation that is by others thought due to the decrees of destiny, or the will and pleasure of Almighty God. This gives such an abandoned submission to all the frequent and cruel executions among them by the Emperor's command, though upon the mere turns of his own humour, the suggestions of the ministers, or the flatteries and revenges of those women he most trusteth, or loveth best.

A third was, the division of all lands in conquered countries into timariots or soldiers shares, besides what was reserved and appropriated to the Emperor; and these shares being only at pleasure, or for life, leave him the sole Lord of all lands in his dominion, which, by the common supposition of power following land, must, by consequence, leave him the most absolute of any sovereign in the world.

A fourth, the allowance of no honours nor charges, no more than lands, to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the will of the Prince. This applies every man's ambition and avarice to court his present humour, serve his present designs, and obey his commands, of how different nature soever they are, and how frequently changed.

A fifth was, the suppression, and, in a manner, extinction, of all learning, among the subjects of their whole empire, at least the natural *Turks* and Janizaries, in whom the strength of it consists. This ignorance makes way for the most blind obedience, which is often shaken by disputes concerning religion and government, liberty and dominion, and other arguments of that or some such nature.

A sixth was, the institution of that famous order of the Janizaries, than which a greater strain of true and deep politic will hardly be observed in any constitution. This consisted in the arbitrary choice of such Christian children, throughout their dominions, as were esteemed most fit for the Emperor's peculiar service; and the choice was made by the shews or promises of the greatest growth or strength of body, vigour of constitution, and boldness of courage. These were taken into the Emperor's care, and trained up in certain colleges, or chambers, as they are called, and by officers for that purpose, who endeavoured to improve all they could the advantages of nature by those of education and of discipline. They were all diligently

ly instructed in the *Mahometan* religion, and in the veneration of the *Ottoman* race. Such of them as proved weak of body, slothful, or pusillanimous, were turned to labour in gardens, buildings, or drudgeries of the palace; but all, that were fit for military service, were, at a certain age, entered into the body of Janizaries, who were the Emperor's guards.

By this means, the number of Christians was continually lessened throughout the empire, and weakened by the loss of such as were like to prove the bravest and strongest of their races. That of *Musselmans* was increased in the same proportions, and a mighty body of chosen men kept up perpetually in discipline and pay, who esteemed themselves not only as subjects or slaves, but even pupils and domestic servants of the Grand Seignor's person and family.

A seventh was, the great temperance introduced into the general customs of the *Turks*, but more particularly of the Janizaries, by the severe defence and abstinence of wine, and by the provision of one only sort of food for their armies, which was rice. Of this grain, as every man is able to carry, upon occasion, enough for several days, so the quantity provided for every expedition is but according to the number, with no distinction for the quality of men; so that, upon a march, or in a camp, a colonel has no more allowed him than a private soldier. Nor are any but general officers encumbered with train or baggage, which gives them mighty advantages in their *German* wars, among whom every officer has a family in proportion to his command during the *campania*, as well as in his quarters; and the very soldiers used to carry their wives with them into the field; whereas a *Turkish* army consists only of fighting men.

The last I shall mention, is the speediness as well as severity of their justice both civil and military, which, though often subject thereby to mistakes, and deplored by

by the complaints and calamities of innocent persons; yet it is maintained upon this principle fixed among them; *That 'tis better two innocent men should die, than one guilty live.* And this indeed agrees with the whole cast or frame of their empire, which seems to have been, in all points, the fiercest, as that of the *Ynca's* was the gentlest, that of *Ghina* the wisest, and that of the *Goths* the bravest, in the world.

The growth and progress of this *Turkish* empire, under the *Ottoman* race, was so sudden and so violent, the two or three first centuries, that it raised fear and wonder throughout the world; but seems at a stand for these last hundred years, having made no conquest since that of *Hungary*, except the remainder of *Candia*, after a very long war so bravely maintained by the small *Venetian* State against so mighty powers. The reason of this may be drawn not only from the periods of empire, that, like natural bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain size, which they are not to exceed; but from some other causes, both within and without, which seem obvious enough.

The first, a neglect in the observance of some of these orders, which were essential to the constitutions of their government. For after the conquests of *Cyprus*, and the example of *Selim's* intemperance in those and other wines, that custom and humour prevailed against their laws of abstinence, in that point so severely enjoined by *Mahomet*, and so long observed among all his followers. And, though the *Turks* and *Janizaries* endeavoured to avoid the scandal and punishment by drinking in private, yet they felt the effects in their bodies and in their humours, whereof the last needs no inflaming among such hot tempers, and their bodies are weakened by this intemperance, joined to their abandoned luxury, in point of women.

Besides, the institution of *Janizaries* has been much altered by the corruption of officers, who have long

suffered the Christians to buy off that tribute of their children, and the *Turks* to purchase the preferment of theirs into that order for money ; by which means the choice of this militia is not made from the strongest and most warlike bodies of men, but from the purses of the parents or friends.

These two distempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous humour of this body of Janizaries, who, finding their own strength, began to make what changes they pleased in the State, till, having been long flushed with the blood of the *Basha's* and *Viziers*, they made bold at last with that of their Princes themselves ; and, having deposed and strangled *Ibrahim*, they set up his son, the present Emperor, then a child. But the distemper ended not there ; they fell into new factions, changed and murdered several *Viziers*, and divided into so powerful parties, and with so fierce contentions, that the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, with an army of an hundred thousand men, set up for himself (though under pretence of a counterfeit son of *Morat*) and caused such a convulsion in this mighty State, that the *Ottoman* race had ended, if this bold adventurer had not, upon confidence in the faith of a treaty, been surpris'd and strangled by order of old *Cuperly*, then newly come to be Grand *Vizier*, and absolute in the government. This man entering the ministry at fourscore years old, cruel by nature, and hardened by age, to allay the heat of blood in that distempered body of the Janizaries, and the other troops, cut off near forty thousand of them in three years time by private, sudden, and violent executions, without form of laws or trials, or hearing any sorts of pleas or defences. His son, succeeding in the place of Grand *Vizier*, found the empire so dispirited by his father's cruelty, and the militia remaining so spited and distempered, breathing new commotions and revenges, that he diverted the humour

mour by an easy war upon the *Venetians*, *Transylvanians*, or the remainders of *Hungary*, till by temper and conduct he had closed the wounds which his father had left bleeding, and restored the strength of the *Ottoman* empire to that degree, that the succeeding Vizier invaded *Germany*, though against the faith of treaties, or of a truce not expired, and at last besieged *Vienna*, which is a story too fresh and too known to be told here.

Another reason has been the neglect of their marine affairs, or of their former greatness at sea, so as, for many years, they hardly pretend to any successes on that element, but commonly say, *That God has given the earth to the Mussulmans, and the sea to the Christians*.

The last I shall observe is the excessive use of opium, with which they seek to repair the want of wine, and to divert their melancholy reflexions upon the ill condition of their fortunes and lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the will or caprice of the Grand Seignior's or of the Grand Vizier's humour and commands. But the effect of this opium is very transitory; and, though it allays for the present all melancholy fumes and thoughts, yet, when the operation is past, they return again, which makes the use of it so often repeated; and nothing more dispirits and enervates both the body and the mind of those that frequently use it.

The external reason of the stand made this last century, in the growth of the *Turkish* empire, seems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to such strong bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the *Persian* empire to the *East*, upon the *Tartars* to the *North*, upon the *Æthiopians* to the *South*, and upon the *German* empire to the *West*, and turned their prospect this way, as the easiest

easiest and most plausible, being against a Christian State.

Now this empire of *Germany*, consisting of such large territories, such numbers and bodies of warlike men, when united in any common cause or quarrel, seems as strongly constituted for defence, as the *Turkish* is for invasion or conquest. For being composed of many civil and moderate governments, under legal Princes, or free States, the subjects are all fond of their liberties and laws, and abhor the falling under any foreign or arbitrary dominions, and in such a common cause seem to be invincible. On the contrary, the *Turkish* territories being all enslaved, and thereby in a manner desolated, have no force but that of their standing armies, and their people in general care not either for the progress of their victories abroad, nor even for the defence of their own countries, since they are sure to lose nothing, but may hope reasonably to gain by any change of master, or of government, which makes that empire the worst constituted that can be for defence, upon any great misfortune to their armies.

The effect of these two different constitutions had been seen and felt (in all probability) to the wonder of the whole world, in these late revolutions, if the divine decrees had not crossed all human appearances. For the Grand Vizier might certainly have taken *Vien-na*, before the confederate Princes could have united for its relief, if the opinion of vast treasures (there assembled for shelter from all the adjacent parts) had not given him a passionate desire to take the town by composition rather than by storm, which must have left all its wealth a prey to the soldiers, and not to the General.

If the *Turks* had possessed this bulwark of *Christianity*, I do not conceive what could have hindered them from being masters immediately of *Austria*, and all its depending

depending provinces ; nor, in another year, of all *Italy*, or of the southern provinces of *Germany*, as they should have chosen to carry on their invasion, or of both, in two or three years time ; and how fatal this might have been to the rest of *Christendom*, or how it might have enlarged the *Turkish* dominions, is easy to conjecture.

On the other side, after the defeat of the Grand Visier's army, his death, and that of so many brave *Basha's*, and other Captains, by the usual humour and faction of that bloody Court : after such slaughters of the Janizaries, in so many encounters, and such an universal discouragement of their troops, that could nowhere withstand the *German* arms and bravery ; if, upon the taking of *Belgrade*, the Emperor had been at the head of the forces then in his service, united under one great Commander, and without dependence upon the several Princes by whom they were raised, I do not see what could have hindered them from conquering all before them in that open country of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, nor from taking *Constantinople* itself, upon the course of an easy war, in such a decline of the *Turkish* empire, with so weak and dispirited troops as those that remained, a treasure so exhausted, a Court so divided, and such a general consternation as appeared in that great and tumultuous city, upon these occasions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any so great revolution, either for the ruin or advantage of *Christendom*, and seems to have left both empires at a bay, and not likely to make any great enterprises on either side, but rather to fall into the designs of a peace which may probably leave *Hungary* to the possession as well as right of the house of *Austria*, and the *Turks* in a condition of giving no great fears or dangers, in our age, to the rest of *Christendom*.

Although

Although the *Mahometan* empires were not raised like others, upon the foundations, or by the force of heroic virtue, but rather by the practices of a subtle man, upon the simplicity of credulous people; yet the growth of them has been influenced by several Princes, in whom some beams at least of that sun have shined, such as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Solyman the Great*. And, because I have named the most heroic persons of that sect, it will be but justice to nobler nations, to mention at the same time those who appear to have shined the brightest in their several ages or countries, and the lustre of whose virtues, as well as greatness, has been sullied with the fewest noted blemishes or defaults, and who for deserving well of their own countries by their actions, and of mankind by their examples, have eternized their memories in the true records of fame, which is ever just to the dead, how partial soever it may be to the living; from the forced applauses of power, or fulsome adulations of servile men.

Such as these were among the ancient *Grecians*, *Epa-minondas*, *Pericles*, and *Agefilas*. Of the old *Roman* state, the first *Scipio*, *Marcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the *Roman* Emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Among the *Goths*, *Alaric*, and *Theodoric*. Of the western Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederic Barbarossa*, and *Charles V*. Of the *French* nation, *Pharamond*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry IV*. who began three of their noblest races. Of the *Suedes*, *Gustavus Adolphus*. And, of our own, *Richard I*. the *Black Prince*, and *Harry V*. To these I may add seven famous Captains, or smaller Princes, whose exploits and virtues may justly allow them to be ranked with so great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Bellisarius*, the two last great commanders of the *Roman* armies, after the division and decay of that mighty state, who did set up the last trophies, and made the bravest defences

fences against the numbers and fury of those barbarous nations, that invaded, and after their time tore in pieces that whole empire. *George Castriot*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and *Huniades*, Viceroy of *Hungaria*, who were two most victorious Captains, and excellent men, the true champions of *Christianity*, whilst they lived, and terror of the *Turks*; who with small forces held at a bay, for so many years, all the powers of the *Ottoman* empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that noble *Spaniard*, worthily surnamed the Great Captain, who by his sole prowess and conduct conquered a crown for his master, which he might have worn for himself, if his ambition had been equal to his courage and virtues. *William*, Prince of *Orange*, who restored the *Belgic* liberties, and was the founder of their State, esteemed generally the best and wisest Commander of his age, and who at the sudden point of his death, as well as in the course of his life, gave such testimonies of his being a true lover of the people and country he governed. *Alexander Fernelse*, Prince of *Parma*, who by his wisdom, courage, and justice, recovered ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner lost to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous expeditions for relief of his confederates, into the heart of *France*, and seemed to revive the ancient *Roman* virtue and discipline in the world, and to bring the noble genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the stage.

Whoever has a mind to trace the paths of heroic virtue, which lead to the temple of true honour and fame, need seek them no further, than in the stories and examples of those illustrious persons here assembled. And so I leave this crown of never-fading laurel, in full view of such great and noble spirits, as shall deserve it, in this or in succeeding ages. Let them win it and wear it.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

UPON the survey of all the great actions and revolutions, occasioned in the world by the conquest and progresses of these four mighty empires, as well as the other four, so much renowned in story; it may not be impertinent, to reflect upon the causes of conquests as well as the effects, and deduce them from their natural sources, as far as they can be discovered, though like those of great rivers they are usually obscure or taken little notice of until their streams, increasing by the influence of many others, make so mighty inundations, as to grow famous in the stories, as well as maps of the world.

To this end I shall observe three things upon the general course of conquests, the most renowned and best recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern histories.

First, that they have generally proceeded from *North* to *South*, so as we find none besides those of the *Saracens* that can be said to have failed the contrary course, and those were animated by another spirit, which was the *Mahometan* persuasion of predestination, that made them careless of their lives, and thereby fearless of dangers. For all the rest, they have run the course before-mentioned, unless we should admit the traditions, rather than relations, of the conquests of *Sesostris*, who is reported by the ancients to have subdued all, from *Egypt* to the river *Tanais*: but this we may not allow for truth, because it must have preceded the reign of *Ninus*, and so disagree with the chronology of holy Scripture; and therefore it must be exploded for fabulous, with other relicks of ancient story, as the *Scythians* having subdued and possessed *Asia* so many hundred years before the empire
of

of *Ninus*, and their wives having given so ancient a beginning to the famous kingdom of the *Amazons*, whereof some remnants only are said to have remained in *Alexander's* time; yet the same was then believed, of their having anciently extended their dominion over all the lesser *Asia*, as well as *Armenia*, and of their having founded the famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which is the more probable, from that appellation of *Taurica* that was anciently given her.

But the great conquests, recorded and undisputed in story, have been of the *Assyrians* southwards, as far as *Arabia* and *India*. Of the *Persians*, from the *Caspian* sea, to the utmost extent of the preceding empire and of *Egypt*. Of the *Macedonians* over *Greece* and all the bounds of the *Persian* kingdom. Of the *Romans* over the *Greek* empire as far as *Parthia* eastward, and over *Sicily*, *Spain*, and *Afric* to the South, before the progress of their arms towards the north-west. Of the *Tartars* over all *China* and *India*. And of the *Goths* and other northern nations over all the more southern provinces of *Europe*.

The second observation I shall make upon the subject of victory and conquest is, that they have generally been made by the smaller numbers over the greater, against which I do not remember any exception in all the famous battles registred in story, excepting that of *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, whereof the first is said to have exceeded about a fourth part in number, though they were so vast on both sides, that they were not very easy to be well accounted. For the rest, the number of the *Persians* with *Cyrus* were small to those of the *Assyrians*: those of the *Macedonians* were, in no battle against the *Persians*, above forty thousand men, though sometimes against three, four, or six hundred thousand. The *Athenian* army little exceeded ten thousand, and, fighting for the liberties of their country, beat above sixscore thousand *Persians* at *Mara-*

thou. The *Lacedæmonians*, in all the famous exploits of that state, never had above twelve thousand *Spartans* in the field at a time, and seldom above twenty thousand men with their allies *. The *Romans* ever fought with smaller against greater numbers, unless in the battles of *Cannæ* and *Thrasimene*, which were the only famous ones they lost against foreign enemies; and *Cæsar's* army at *Pharsalia*, as well as in *Gaul* and *Germany*, were in no proportion to those he conquered. That of *Marius* was not above forty thousand against three hundred thousand *Cimbers*. The famous victories of *Ætius* and *Belisarius*, against the barbarous northern nations, were with mighty disproportion of numbers, as likewise the first victories of the *Turks* upon the *Persian* kingdom; of the *Tartars* upon the *Chinese*: and *Scanderbeg* never saw together above sixteen thousand men, in all the renowned victories he atchieved against the *Turks*, though in numbers sometimes above an hundred thousand.

To descend to later times, the *English* victories so renowned at *Cressy*, *Poitiers*, and *Agencourt*, were gained with disadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great atchievements of *Charles VIII.* in *Italy*, of *Henry IV.* in *France*, and of *Gustavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, were ever performed with smaller against greater numbers. In this age, and among all the exploits that have so justly raised the reputation and honour of *Monsieur Turenne* for the greatest Captain of his time, I do not remember any of them were atchieved, without disadvantage of number: and the late defeat of the *Turks* at the siege of *Vienna*, which saved *Christianity*, and has eternized the name of the Duke of *Lorraine*, was too fresh and great an example of this assertion to need any more, or leave it in dispute.

From

* And yet they are recorded never to have asked how many their enemies were, but only where they were.

From these two principles of conquest, having proceeded from the *North* to the *South*, and by smaller over greater numbers, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the constitutions of men's bodies who compose the armies that achieve them, or to the dispositions of their minds. The first of these may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infused. 'Tis without question, the northern bodies are greater and stronger than the southern, and also more healthy and more vigorous. The reason whereof is obvious to every man's conjecture, both from the common effects of air upon appetites and digestion, and from the roughness of the soil, which forces them upon labour and hardship. Now the true original greatness of any kingdom or nation may be accounted by the number of strong and able bodies of their native subjects. This is the natural strength of government, all the rest is art, discipline, or institution.

The next ingredient into the composition of conquering forces is fearlessness of mind, whether it be occasioned by the temper of the climate, or race, of which men are born, or by custom, which inures men to be insensible of danger, or by passions or opinions that are raised in them; for they may all have the same effect. We see the very beasts and birds of some countries, as well as the men, are naturally fearless. We see long service in armies, or at sea, makes men insensible of dangers. We see the love of liberty, desire of revenge, and defence of their country or Prince, renders them careless of life. The very confidence of victory, either from former and frequent successes, from the esteem and opinion of their commanders, or from the scorn of their enemies, makes armies victorious. But chiefly, the firm and rooted opinions of reward or punishment, attending another world, and of obtaining the one, or avoiding the other, by dying
or

or conquering in the quarrel they are engaged in, And these are the great sources of victory and fortune in arms; for, let the numbers be what they will, that army is ever beaten, where the fright first enters. Few battles were lost of old, but none since the use of gunpowder, by the greatness of downright slaughter, before an army runs; and the noise and smoke of guns both increases fear, and covers shame, more than the ancient use of arms; so that, since those of fire came in, battles have been usually shorter and less bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denied either by soldiers or reasonable men) that the battle is lost where the fright first enters, then the reason will appear why victory has generally followed the smaller numbers, because, in a body composed of more parts, it may sooner enter upon one, than in that which consists of fewer, as likelier to find ten wise men together than an hundred, and an hundred fearless men than a thousand: and those, who have the smaller forces, endeavour most to supply that defect by the choice discipline and bravery of their troops; and, where the fright once enters an army, the greater the number, the greater the disorder, and thereby the loss of the battle more certain and sudden.

From all this, I conclude, that the composition of victorious armies, and the great true ground of conquest, consists first in the choice of the strongest, ablest, and hardiest bodies of men: next, in the exactness of discipline, by which they are inured to labour and dangers, and to fear their commanders more than their enemies; and lastly, in the spirit given them by love of their country or their Prince, by impressions of honour or religion, to render them fearless of death, and so incapable, or at least very difficult, to receive any fright, or break thereby into disorder. And I question not, but any brave Prince or General, at the
head

head of forty thousand men, who would certainly stand their ground, and sooner die than leave it, might fight any number of forces that can be drawn together in any field: for, besides that a greater number may fall sooner into fright and disorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the action of one day's battle, whereas very few, in late ages, have lasted half that time.

The last remark I shall make upon this subject is, that the conquering nations have generally been those who placed the strength of their arms in their foot, and not in their horse, which have never, till these later years, been esteemed capable of breaking a firm body of foot; nor does their force seem to consist in other advantage, besides that of giving terror upon the fury of their first charge. Nor is this opinion less grounded upon reason than experience: for, besides that men are firmer upon their own feet than those of their horses, and less in danger of falling into disorder, which may come from want of discipline or courage in the horses as well as their riders; it is hard to imagine, that spurs in the sides of horses should have more effect or force to make them advance upon a charge, than pikes, swords, or javelins in their noses and breasts to make them keep off, fall back, or break their ranks, and run into disorder.

For the experience, nothing has been more known in all ages, or more undisputed. The battle of *Marathon* was gained by ten thousand foot, against mighty numbers of *Persian* horses as well as foot. The famous retreat of *Xenophon*, for such a length of country and of time, was made at the head of ten thousand *Greeks* in the face of forty thousand *Persian* horse; nor had the *Greeks* above a hundred or sixscore horse in their camp, which they made use of only to forage, or pursue the *Persian* horse when they fled in disorder from the points of their pikes and javelins. The *Macedonian*

cedonian foot, and afterwards the *Macædonian phalanx*, were impenetrable by all the *Persian* horse that ever encountered them. The *Roman* legions consisted each of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, which was all the proportion they ever had in their victorious armies, that could not be broken by the vast numbers of *Spanish*, *Numidian*, or *Persian* and *Armenian* horse they were so often engaged with. The force of the *Gothic* nations consisted in their foot, and of the *Turkish* and *Ottoman* empire in their Janizaries. The noble conquests of the *English* in *France* were made all by their foot; and during that period of time, when the Crown of *Spain* made so great a figure in *Europe*, it was all by the force and bravery of their *Spanish* and *Italian* foot.

There seem to be but two exceptions against this rule, which are the ancient greatness of the *Persians*, and modern of the *French*, whose chief force have been esteemed to consist in their horse. But the *Persian* empire was raised by the conquest of the eastern nations, whose armies consisted chiefly in horse, and one against the other, the best carried it, till they came to deal with the *Grecian* foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the *French* armies, though the bravery of their cavalry has been great and noble, as made up of so numerous a Gentry in that kingdom; yet one chief strength of their troops must be allowed, for the several late reigns, to have lain in their bands of *Switzers*; and, in this present reign, *Mareschal Turenne* must be acknowledged to have made way for his master's greatness, by improving the bodies of *French* foot with force of choice and discipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his time.

I shall end this remark with an adventure I remember to have read in the stories of the Dukes of *Milan*. One of them, having routed a great army of his enemies, was enraged to find a body of *Switzers* make still a firm stand against all his victorious troops. He endeavoured

deavoured to break them by a desperate charge of some squadrons of his *Gens d'arms*, who were all armed, as well as the heads and breasts of their horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the *Switzers* pikes. But all this effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their horses, and, armed as they were, to fall in upon the *Switzers* with their swords; they did it so desperately, some catching hold of the heads of their pikes, others cutting them in pieces with their broad swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other troops that followed them, and broke this body of brave *Switzers*, which had been impenetrable by any horse that could charge them: and this seems an evident testimony, that the impressions of horse upon foot are made by terror rather than force, and, where that first enters, the action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of conquerors or conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second rank in the pretensions to heroic virtue, and that the first has been allowed to the wise institution of just orders and laws, which frame safe and happy governments in the world. The designs and effects of conquests are but the slaughter and ruin of mankind, the ravaging of countries, and defacing the world: those of wise and just governments are preserving and encreasing the lives and generations of men, securing their possessions, encouraging their endeavours, and by peace and riches improving and adorning the several scenes of the world.

So the institutions of *Moses* leave him a diviner character than the victories of *Joshua*: those of *Belus*, *Osiris*, and *Janus*, than the prowess of *Ninus*, *Cyrus*, and *Sesostris*. And if, among the ancients, some men have been esteemed heroes, by the brave achievements of great conquests and victories; it has been, by the wise institution of laws and government, that others have been honoured and adored as gods.

OF

POETRY.

THE two common shrines, to which most men offer up the application of their thoughts and their lives, are profit and pleasure; and, by their devotions to either of these, they are vulgarly distinguished into two sects, and called either busy or idle men. Whether these terms differ in meaning, or only in sound, I know very well may be disputed, and with appearance enough, since the covetous man takes perhaps as much pleasure in his gains as the voluptuous does in his luxury, and would not pursue his business, unless he were pleased with it, upon the last account of what he most wishes and desires, nor would care for the increase of his fortunes, unless he thereby proposed that of his pleasures too, in one kind or other; so that pleasure may be said to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his pursuit or no. Much ado there has been, many words spent, or (to speak with more respect to the ancient philosophers many disputes have been raised upon this argument, I think to little purpose, and that all has been rather an exercise of wit, than an inquiry after truth; and all controversies, that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The best is to take words as they

they are most commonly spoken and meant, like coin, as it most currently passes, without raising scruples upon the weight of the alloy, unless the cheat or the defect be gross and evident. Few things in the world, or none, will bear too much refining; a thread too fine spun will easily break, and the point of a needle too finely filed. The usual acceptation takes profit and pleasure for two different things, and not only calls the followers or votaries of them by several names of busy and of idle men, but distinguishes the faculties of the mind that are conversant about them, calling the operations of the first wisdom, and of the other wit, which is a *Saxon* word, that is used to express what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French* *Esprit*, both from the *Latin*; but I think wit more peculiarly signifies that of *poetry*, as may occur upon remarks of the *Runic* language. To the first of these are attributed the inventions or productions of things generally esteemed the most necessary, useful, or profitable to human life, either in private possessions or public institutions: to the other, those writings or discourses which are the most pleasing or entertaining to all that read or hear them: yet, according to the opinion of those that link them together, as the inventions of sages and lawgivers themselves do please as well as profit those who approve and follow them; so those of poets instruct and profit, as well as please, such as are conversant in them, and the happy mixture of both these makes the excellency in both those compositions, and has given occasion for esteeming, or at least for calling, heroic virtue and poetry *divine*.

The names given to poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, express the same opinion of them in those nations; the *Greek* signifying makers or creators, such as raise admirable frames and fabrics out of nothing, which strike with wonder and with pleasure the eyes and imaginations of those who behold them; the *Latin* makes the same word common to poets and to prophets.

Now as creation is the first attribute and highest operation of Divine Power; so is prophecy the greatest emanation of Divine Spirit in the world. As the names in those two learned languages, so the causes of poetry, are, by the writers of them, said to be divine, and to proceed from a celestial fire, or divine inspiration; and, by the vulgar opinions, recited or related to in many passages of those authors, the effects of poetry were likewise thought divine and supernatural and power of charms and enchantments were ascribed to it.

*Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam,
Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

But I can easily admire poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to arise from the greatest excellency of natural temper, or the greatest race of native genius, without exceeding the reach of what is human, or giving it any approaches of divinity, which is, I doubt, debased or dishonoured, by ascribing to it any thing that is in the compass of our action, or even comprehension, unless it be raised by an immediate influence from itself. I cannot allow poetry to be more divine in its effects than in its causes, nor any operation produced by it to be more than purely natural, or to deserve any other sort of wonder than those of music, or of natural magic, however any of them have appeared to minds little versed in the speculations of nature, of occult qualities, and the force of numbers or of sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the moon from heaven, by force of verses or of charms, either believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an opinion begun by the practice of some poet, upon the facility of some people, who, knowing the time when an eclipse would happen,

happen, told them he would by his charms call down the moon at such an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming description in *Virgil's* eighth Eclogue of all sorts of charms and fascinations by verses, by images, by knots, by numbers, by fire, by herbs, employed upon occasion of a violent passion, from a jealous or disappointed love ; I have recourse to the strong impressions of fables and of poetry (to the easy mistakes of popular opinions, to the force of imagination, to the secret virtues of several herbs, and to the powers of sounds : and I am sorry the natural history, or account of fascination, has not employed the pen of some person of such excellent wit and deep thought and learning as *Casaubon*, who writ that curious and useful treatise of *Enthusiasm*, and by it discovered the hidden or mistaken sources of that delusion, so frequent in all regions and religions of the world, and which had so fatally spread over our country in that age in which this treatise was so seasonably published. 'Tis much to be lamented that he lived not to complete that work in the second part he promised ; or that his friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear account of enthusiasm and fascination, from their natural causes, would very much deserve from mankind in general, as well as from the commonwealth of learning : might perhaps prevent so many public disorders, and save the lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding people, who suffer so frequently upon account of witches and wizards. I have seen many miserable examples of this kind in my youth at home ; and, though the humour or fashion be a good deal worn out of the world within thirty or forty years past, yet it still remains in several remote parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, and some other countries.

But

But, to return to the charms of poetry, if the forsaken lover, in that eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected only from the force of her verses, or her charms, what is the burden of the song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the town where he was gone, and engaged in a new amour; if she had pretended only to revive an old fainting flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his breast; she might, for aught I know, have compassed such ends by the power of such charms, and without any other than very natural enchantments. For there is no question but true poetry may have the force to raise passions, and to allay them, to change and to extinguish them, to temper joy and grief, to raise love and fear, nay, to turn fear into boldness, and love into indifference, and into hatred itself: and I easily believe that the disheartened *Spartans* were new animated, and recovered their lost courage, by the songs of *Tyrtæus*; that the cruelty and revenge of *Phalaris* were changed by the odes of *Stesichorus* into the greatest kindness and esteem; and that many men were as passionately enamoured by the charms of *Sappho's* wit and poetry, as by those of beauty in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not only beauty gives love, but love gives beauty to the object that raises it; and, if the possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always beauty enough in the person that gives it. Nor is it any great wonder that such force should be found in poetry, since in it are assembled all the powers of eloquence, of music, and of picture, which are allowed to make so strong impressions upon human minds. How far men have been affected with all, or any, of these, needs little proof or testimony: the examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where some have fallen downright in love with the ravishing beauties of a lovely object drawn by the skill of an admirable painter; nay, painters themselves have fallen in love with some of their own productions, and doted on

on them as on a mistress or a fond child ; which distinguishes among the *Italians* the several pieces that are done by the same hand, into several degrees of those made, *con studio*, *con diligenza*, or *con amore*, whereof the last are ever the most excelling. But there needs no more instances of this kind than the stories related and believed by the best authors as known and undisputed ; of the two young *Grecians*, one whereof ventured his life to be locked up all night in the temple, and satisfy his passion with the embraces and enjoyment of a statue of *Venus* that was there set up, and designed for another sort of adoration ; the other pined away and died for being hindered his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a statue at *Athens*.

The powers of music are either felt or known by all men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the mind and the body, the passions and the blood ; to raise joy and grief, to give pleasure and pain, to cure diseases, and the mortal sting of the *Tarantula* ; to give motions to the feet as well as the heart, to compose disturbed thoughts, to assist and heighten devotion itself. We need no recourse to the fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the force of their music upon fishes and beasts ; 'tis enough that we find the charming of serpents, and the cure or allay of an evil spirit or possession, attributed to it in sacred writ.

For the force of eloquence, that so often raised and appeased the violence of popular commotions, and caused such convulsions in the *Athenian* state, no man need more to make him acknowledge it than to consider *Cæsar*, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal men, come upon the tribunal full of hatred and revenge, and with a determined resolution to condemn *Labienus* ; yet, upon the force of *Cicero's* eloquence (in an oration for his defence) begin to change countenance, turn pale, shake to that degree, that the papers he held fell out of his hand, as if he had been
frighted

frighted with words, that never was so with blows; and at last change all his anger into clemency, and acquit the brave criminal, instead of condemning him.

Now, if the strength of these three mighty powers be united in poetry, we need not wonder that such virtues and such honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inspired, or has been called divine; and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the force of wit and of reasoning, the height of conceptions and expressions, may be found in poetry as well as in oratory, the life and spirit of representation or picture as much as in painting, and the force of sounds as well as in music; and how far these three natural powers together may extend, and to what effect (even such as may be mistaken for supernatural or magical) I leave it to such men to consider, whose thoughts turn to such speculations as these, or who, by their native temper and genius, are, in some degree, disposed, or receive the impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Dr. *Harvey*, when he was reading *Virgil*, should sometimes throw him down upon the table, and say he had a devil; nor that the learned *Merie Casaubon* should find such charming pleasures and emotions, as he describes upon the reading some parts of *Lucretius*; that so many should cry, and with downright tears, at some tragedies of *Shakespeare*, and so many more should feel such turns or curdling of their blood, upon the reading or hearing of some excellent pieces of poetry; nor that *Octavia* fell into a swoon, at the recital made by *Virgil* of those verses in the sixth of his *Æneids*.

This is enough to assert the powers of poetry, and discover the ground of those opinions of old, which derived it from divine inspirations, and gave it so great a share in the supposed effects of sorcery or magic. But, as the old romances seem to lessen the honour of true prowess and valour in their knights, by giving
such

such a part in all their chief adventures to enchantment, so the true excellency and just esteem of poetry seems rather debased than exalted, by the stories or belief of the charms performed by it, which, among the *northern* nations, grew so strong and so general, that, about five or six hundred years ago, all the *Runic* poetry came to be decried, and those ancient characters, in which they were written, to be abolished by the zeal of bishops, and even by orders and decrees of state, which has given a great maim, or rather an irrecoverable loss, to the story of those *northern* kingdoms, the seat of our ancestors in all the *western* parts of *Europe*.

The more true and natural source of poetry may be discovered, by observing to what god this inspiration was ascribed by the antients, which was *Apollo*, or the sun, esteemed among them the god of learning in general, but more particularly of music and of poetry. The mystery of this fable means, I suppose, that a certain noble and vital heat of temper, but especially of the brain, is the true spring of these two parts or sciences: this was that celestial fire, which gave such a pleasing motion and agitation to the minds of those men, that have been so much admired in the world, that raises such infinite images of things so agreeable and delightful to mankind; by the influence of this sun, are produced those golden and inexhausted mines of invention, which has furnished the world with treasures so highly esteemed, and so universally known and used, in all the regions that have yet been discovered. From this arises that elevation of genius, which can never be produced by any art or study, by pains or by industry, which cannot be taught by precepts or examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free gift of Heaven or of nature, and to be a fire kindled out of some hidden spark of the very first conception.

But, though invention be the mother of poetry, yet this child is, like all others, born naked, and must
be

be nourished with care, clothed with exactness and elegance, educated with industry, instructed with art, improved by application, corrected with severity, and accomplished with labour and with time, before it arrives at any great perfection or growth: 'tis certain that no composition requires so many several ingredients, or of more different sorts than this, nor that, to excel in any qualities, there are necessary so many gifts of nature, and so many improvements of learning and of art. For there must be an universal genius, of great compass as well as great elevation. There must be a spritely imagination or fancy, fertile in a thousand productions, ranging over infinite ground, piercing into every corner, and, by the light of that true poetical fire, discovering a thousand little bodies or images in the world, and similitudes among them, unseen to common eyes, and which could not be discovered, without the rays of that sun.

Besides the heat of invention and liveliness of wit, there must be the coldness of good sense and soundness of judgment, to distinguish between things and conceptions, which, at first sight, or upon short glances, seem alike; to chuse among infinite productions of wit and fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the forces of wit, all poetry is flat and languishing; without the succours of judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true wit of poesey is, that such contraries must meet to compose it, a genius both penetrating and solid; in expression both delicacy and force; and the frame or fabric of a true poem must have something both sublime and just, amazing and agreeable. There must be a great agitation of mind to invent, a great calm to judge and correct; there must be, upon the same tree, and at the same time, both flower and fruit. To work up this metal

metal into exquisite figure, there must be employed the fire, the hammer, the chisel, and the file. There must be a general knowledge both of nature and of arts, and, to go the lowest that can be, there are required *genius*, judgment, and application; for, without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great poet that applied himself much to any thing else.

When I speak of poetry, I mean not an ode or an elegy, a song or a satire, nor by a poet the composer of any of these, but of a just poem; and, after all I have said, 'tis no wonder, there should be so few that appeared in any parts or any ages of the world, or that such as have should be so much admired, and have almost divinity ascribed to them, and to their works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much praise or admiration by the ancients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their names, I think no man has been so bold among those that remain to question the title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the first rank, but to the supreme dominion in this state, and from whom, as the great lawgivers as well as Princes, all the laws and orders of it are, or may be, derived. *Homer* was, without dispute, the most universal *genius* that has been known in the world, and *Virgil* the most accomplished. To the first must be allowed the most fertile invention, the richest vein, the most general knowledge, and the most lively expression: to the last, the noblest ideas, the justest institution, the wisest conduct, and the choicest elocution. To speak in the painter's terms, we find, in the works of *Homer*, the most spirit, force, and life; in those of *Virgil*, the best design, the truest proportions, and the greatest grace; the colouring in both seems equal, and indeed is in both admirable. *Homer* had more fire and rapture, *Virgil* more light and swiftness; or at least, the poetical fire was more

raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the first more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The ore was richer in one, but in the other more refined, and better allayed to make up excellent work. Upon the whole, I think it must be confessed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful *genius*; and, that he has been generally so esteemed, there cannot be a greater testimony given, than what has been by some observed, that not only the greatest masters have found in his works the best and truest principles of all their sciences or arts, but that the noblest nations have derived from them the original of their several races, though it be hardly yet agreed, whether his story be true or a fiction. In short, these two immortal poets must be allowed to have so much excelled in their kinds, as to have exceeded all comparison, to have even extinguished emulation, and in a manner confined true poetry, not only to their two languages, but to their very persons. And I am apt to believe so much of the true *genius* of poetry in general, and of its elevation in these two particulars, that I know not, whether of all the numbers of mankind, that live within the compass of a thousand years; for one man that is born capable of making such a poet as *Homer* or *Virgil*, there may not be a thousand born capable of making as great generals of armies, or ministers of state, as any the most renowned in story.

I do not here intend to make a further critic upon poetry, which were too great a labour; nor to give rules for it, which were as great a presumption: besides, there has been so much paper blotted upon these subjects, in this curious and censoring age, that 'tis all grown tedious or repetition. The modern *French* wits (or pretenders) have been very severe in their censures, and exact in their rules, I think to very little purpose; for I know not, why they might not have contented themselves

themselves with those given by *Aristotle* and *Horace*, and have translated them rather than commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more; so as they seem, by their writings of this kind, rather to have valued themselves, than improved any body else. The truth is, there is something, in the *genius* of poetry, too libertine to be confined to so many rules; and whoever goes about to subject it to such constraints loses both its spirit and grace, which are ever native, and never learned, even of the best masters. 'Tis as if, to make excellent honey, you should cut off the wings of your bees, confine them to their hive or their stands, and lay flowers before them, such as you think the sweetest, and like to yield the finest extraction; you had as good pull out their stings, and make arrant drones of them. They must range through fields, as well as gardens, chuse such flowers as they please, and by proprieties and scents they only know and distinguish: they must work up their cells with admirable art, extract their honey with infinite labour, and sever it from the wax, with such distinction and choice, as belongs to none but themselves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much mortification to these great arbitrary rulers among the *French* writers, or our own, to observe the worthy productions that have been formed by their rules, the honour they have received in the world, or the pleasure they have given mankind; but, to comfort them, I do not know there was any great poet in *Greece*, after the rules of that art laid down by *Aristotle*; nor in *Rome*, after those by *Horace*, which yet none of our moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan* may be alledged against this assertion; but the first offered no further than at idyls or eclogues; and the last, though he must be avowed for a true and happy *genius*, and to have made some very high flights, yet he is so unequal
to

to himself, and his muse is so young, that his faults are too noted, to allow his pretences. *Feliciter audet* is the true character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Lusit amabiliter*. After all, the utmost that can be achieved, or I think pretended, by any rules in this art, is but to hinder some men from being very ill poets, but not to make any man a very good one. To judge who is so, we need go no further for instruction than three lines of *Horace*.

——— *Ille meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus, et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.*

He is a poet,

*Who vainly anguishes my breast,
Provokes, allays, and with false terror fills,
Like a magician, and now sets me down
In Thebes, and now in Athens.*

Whoever does not affect and move the same present passions in you, that he represents in others, and at other times, raise images about you, as a conjurer is said to do spirits, transport you to the places and to the persons he describes, cannot be judged to be a poet, though his measures are never so just, his feet never so smooth, or his sounds never so sweet. But instead of critic, or rules concerning poetry, I shall rather turn my thoughts to the history of it, and observe the antiquity, the uses, the changes, the decays, that have attended this great empire of wit.

It is, I think, generally agreed, to have been the first sort of writing that has been used in the world; and in several nations to have preceded the very invention or usage of letters. This last is certain in *America*

ca, where the first *Spaniards* met with many strains of poetry, and left several of them translated into their language, which seems to have flowed from a true poetic vein, before any letters were known in those regions. The same is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Grecians*, and the *Germans*. *Aristotle* says, the *Agathyrsi* had their laws all in verse; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no annals nor records but what were so; and, for the *Grecian* oracles delivered in them, we have no certain account when they began, but rather reason to believe it was before the introduction of letters from *Phœnicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a thing known, that *Pherecides* was the first who writ prose in the *Greek* tongue, and that he lived about the time of *Cyrus*, whereas *Homer* and *Hesiod* lived some hundreds of years before that age; and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Museus*, some hundreds before them: and of the *Sibyls*, several were before any of those, and in times as well as places, whereof we have no clear records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* writ is said to have been in verse, who were something older than *Cyrus*; and before them were *Archilochus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtæus*, *Sappho*, *Stesichorus*, and several other poets famous in their times. The same thing is reported of *Chaldea*, *Syria*, and *China*; among the ancient western *Goths* (our ancestors) the *Runic* poetry seems to have been as old as their letters; and their laws, their precepts of wisdom, as well as their records, their religious rites, as well as their charms and incantations, to have been all in verse.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in sacred writ, the most ancient is by some learned men esteemed to be the book of *Job*, and that it was written before the time of *Moses*, and that it was a translation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldean* or *Arabian* language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the place of his abode, which appears to have been

been seated between the *Chaldeans* of one side, and the *Sabeans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other; and, by many passages of that admirable and truly inspired poem, the author seems to have lived in some parts near the mouth of *Euphrates*, or the *Persian* gulph, where he contemplated the wonders of the deep, as well as the other works of nature common to those regions. Nor is it easy to find any traces of the *Mosaical* rites or institutions, either in the divine worship, or the morals related to, in those writings: for, not only sacrifices and praises were much more ancient in religious service, than the age of *Moses*; but the opinion of one deity, and adored without any idol or representation, was professed and received among the ancient *Persians* and *Hetruscans* and *Chaldeans*. So that, if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, it is probable he may have been of the race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldæa*, or of *Abraham*, who is supposed to have left that country for the profession or worship of one God, rather than from the branch of *Isaac* and *Israel*, who lived in the land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of controversy, that the book of *Job* was written originally in verse, and was a poem upon the subject of the justice and power of God, and in vindication of his providence, against the common arguments of atheistical men, who took occasion to dispute it, from the usual events of human things, by which so many ill and impious men seem happy and prosperous in the course of their lives, and so many pious and just men seem miserable or afflicted. The *Spanish* translation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) word for word; and for which all translators of the bible since have had great regard, gives us the two first chapters and the last from the seventh verse in prose, as an historical introduction and conclusion of the work, and all the rest in verse, except the transitions from

from one part or person of this sacred dialogue to another.

But, if we take the books of *Moses* to be the most ancient in the *Hebrew* tongue, yet the song of *Moses* may probably have been written before the rest; as that of *Deborah*, before the book of *Judges*, being praises sung to God upon the victories or successes of the *Israelites*, related in both. And I never read the last, without observing in it as true and noble strains of poetry and picture, as in any other language whatsoever, in spite of all disadvantages from translations into so different tongues and common prose. If an opinion of some learned men, both modern and ancient, could be allowed, that *Esdra*s was the writer or compiler of the first historical part of the Old Testament, though from the same divine inspiration as that of *Moses* and the other prophets, then the *Psalms* of *David* would be the first writings we find in *Hebrew*, and next to them the Song of *Solomon*, which was written when he was young, and *Ecclesiastes* when he was old: so that from all sides, both sacred and prophane, it appears that poetry was the first sort of writing known and used in the several nations of the world.

It may seem strange, I confess, upon the first thought, that a sort of stile, so regular and so difficult, should have grown in use before the other, so easy and so loose: but, if we consider what the first end of writing was, it will appear probable from reason as well as experience; for the true and general end was but the help of memory, in preserving that of words and of actions, which would otherwise have been lost, and soon vanish away, with the transitory passage of human breath and life. Before the discourses and disputes of philosophers began to busy or amuse the *Grecian* wits, there was nothing written in prose but either laws, some short sayings of wise men, or some riddles, parables, or fables, wherein were
couched

couched by the ancients many strains of natural and moral wisdom and knowledge, and, besides these, some short memorials of persons, actions, and of times.

Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much easier all such writings should be learned and remembered in verse than in prose, not only by the pleasure of measures and of sounds, which gives a great impression to memory, but by the order of feet, which makes a great facility of tracing one word after another, by knowing what sort of foot or quantity must necessarily have proceeded or followed the words we retain and desire to make up.

This made poetry so necessary, before letters were invented, and so convenient afterwards; and shews that the great honour and general request, wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only from the pleasure and delight, but likewise from the usefulness and profit, of poetical writings.

This leads me naturally to the subjects of poetry, which have been generally praise, instruction, story, love, grief, and reproach. Praise was the subject of all the songs and psalms mentioned in holy writ; of the hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer*, and many others; of the *Carmina Secularia* in *Rome*, composed all and designed for the honour of their gods; of *Pindar*, *Stesichorus*, and *Tyrtæus* in the praises of virtue, or virtuous men. The subject of *Job* is instruction concerning the attributes of God, and the works of nature. Those of *Simonides*, *Phocillides*, *Theognis*, and several other of the smaller *Greek* poets, with what passes for *Pythagoras's*, are instructions in morality; the first book of *Hesiod* and *Virgil's Georgics*, in agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepest natural philosophy. Story is the proper subject of heroic poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; and *Fable*, which is a sort of story, in the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyric* poetry has been chiefly conversant about love, though

though turned often upon praise too; and the vein of pastorals and eclogues has run the same course, as may be observed in *Theocritus*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, who was, I think, the first and last of true *Lyric* poets among the *Latins*: grief has been always the subject of *Elegy*, and reproach that of *Satire*. The *Dramatic* poesy has been composed of all these; but the chief end seems to have been instruction, and under the disguise of fables, or the pleasure of story, to shew the beauties and the rewards of virtue, the deformities and misfortunes or punishment of vice; by examples of both to encourage one, and deter men from the other; to reform ill customs, correct ill manners, and moderate all violent passions. These are the general subjects of both parts, though comedy give us but the images of common life, and tragedy those of the greater and more extraordinary passions and actions among men. To go further upon this subject would be to tread so beaten paths, that, to travel in them, only raises dust, and is neither of pleasure nor of use.

For the changes that have happened in poetry, I shall observe one ancient, and the others that are modern will be too remarkable, in the declines or decays of this great empire of wit. The first change of poetry was made by translating it into prose, or clothing it in those loose robes or common veils, that disguised or covered the true beauty of its features, and exactness of its shape. This was done first by *Æsop* in *Greek*; but the vein was much more ancient in the eastern regions, and much in vogue, as we may observe in the many parables used in the Old Testament, as well as in the New. And there is a book of fables of the sort of *Æsop*'s, translated out of *Persian*, and pretended to have been so, into that language out of the ancient *Indian*; but, though it seems genuine of the eastern countries, yet I do not take it to be so old, nor to have so much spirit as the *Greek*. The next succession

of poetry in prose seems to have been in the *Miletian* tales, which were a sort of little pastoral romances; and, though much in request in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no examples, that I know of them, unless it be the *Longi Pastoralia*, which gives a taste of the great delicacy and pleasure that was found so generally in those sort of tales. The last kind of poetry, in prose, is that which in later ages has over run the world under the name of romances, which though it seems modern, and a production of the *Gothic* genius, yet the writing is ancient. The remainders of *Petronius Arbiter* seem to be of this kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his true history: but the most ancient that passes by the name is *Heliodorus*, famous for the author's choosing to lose his bishopric, rather than disown that child of his wit. The true spirit or vein of ancient poetry in this kind seems to shine most in *Sir Philip Sidney*, whom I esteem both the greatest poet and the noblest genius of any that have left writings behind them, and published in ours or any other modern language; a person born capable not only of forming the greatest ideas, but of leaving the noblest examples, if the length of his life had been equal to the excellence of his wit and virtues.

With him I leave the discourse of ancient poetry, and, to discover the decays of this empire, must turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the decays, or rather extinction, of the old: as if, true poetry being dead, an apparition of it walked about. This mighty change arrived by no smaller occasions, nor more ignoble revolutions, than those which destroyed the ancient empire and government of *Rome*, and erected so many new ones upon their ruins, by the invasions and conquests, or the general inundations of the *Goths* or *Vandals*, and other barbarous or northern nations, upon those parts of *Europe* that had been subject to the *Romans*. After the conquests made by *Cæ-*
sar

far upon *Gaul*, and the nearer parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the times of *Augustus* and *Tiberius* by their Lieutenants or Generals, great numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* resorted to the *Roman* armies, and to the city itself, and habituated themselves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Grecians*, had done before, upon the conquest of those countries. This mixture soon corrupted the *Latin* tongue, so that in *Latin*, but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harsh allay entered into the style of the *Augustan* age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had subdued many *German* and *Scythian* nations on both sides of the *Danube*, the commerce of those barbarous people grew very frequent with the *Romans*; and, I am apt to think, that the little verses ascribed to *Adrian*, were in imitation of the *Runic* poetry. The *Scythicas pati pruinas* of *Florus* shews their race or climate; and the first rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little allusions of letters or syllables, is in that of *Adrian* at his death.

*O animula, vagula, blandula,
 Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
 Pallidula, lurida, timidula,
 Nec ut soles dabis joca.*

'Tis probable, the old spirit of poetry being lost or frightened away by those long and bloody wars with such barbarous enemies, this new ghost began to appear in its room even about that age; or else that *Adrian*, who affected that piece of learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old vein, turned to a new one, which his expeditions in those countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his example recommended to others. In the time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodoric* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* poetry smell rank of this *Gothic* imitation, and the old vein quite seared up.

After

After that age, learning grew every day more and more obscured by that cloud of ignorance, which coming from the North, and increasing with the numbers and successes of those barbarous people, at length over-shadowed all *Europe*, for so long time. The *Roman* tongue began itself to fail or be disused, and by its corruption made way for the generation of three new languages in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles who were of the conquering nations, for several ages, used their *Gothic*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* tongues, which were mingled with those of *Germany*, where some of the *Goths* had sojourned, long before they proceeded to their conquest of the more southern or western parts. Where-ever the *Roman* colonies had long remained, and their language had been generally spoken, the common people used that still, but vitiated with the base allay of their provincial speech. This in *Charlemain's* time was called in *France*, *Rustica Romana*, and in *Spain*, during the *Gothic* reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the *Roman* soldiers, and great numbers of the *Britons* most accustomed to their commerce and language, had been drained for the defence of *Gaul* against the barbarous nations that invaded it about the time of *Valentinian*, that tongue being wholly extinguished (as well as their own) made way for the intire use of the *Saxon* language. With these changes the ancient poetry was wholly lost in all these countries, and a new sort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new name of rhimes, with an easy change of the *Gothic* word *Runis*, and not from the *Greek*, *Rythmes* as is vulgarly supposed.

Runes was properly the name of the ancient *Gothic* letters or characters, which were invented first or introduced by *Odin*, in the colony or kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths* which he planted in the north-west parts, and round the *Baltic* sea, as has been before related.

lated. But, because all the writings they had among them for many ages were in verse, it came to be the common name of all sorts of poetry among the *Goths*, and the writers or composers of them were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewise another name for them, or for some sorts of them, which was *Viises* or *Wises*; and because the sages of that nation expressed the best of their thoughts, and what learning and prudence they had, in these kind of writings, they that succeeded best and with most applause were termed wise men, the good sense, or learning, or useful knowledge contained in them was called wisdom, and the pleasant or facetious vein among them was called wit, which was applied to all spirit or race of poetry, where it was found in any man, and was generally pleasing to those that heard or read them.

Of these *Runes*, there was in use among the *Goths* above a hundred several sorts, some composed in longer, some in shorter lines, some equal, and others unequal, with many different cadencies, quantities, or feet, which in the pronouncing made many different sorts of original or natural tunes. Some were framed with allusions of words, or consonance of syllables, or of letters, either in the same line, or in the distich, or by alternate succession and resemblance, which made a sort of gingle that pleased the ruder ears of that people. And because their language was composed most of monosyllables, and of so great numbers, many must end in the same sound; another sort of *Runes* were made, with the care and study of ending two lines, or each other of four lines, with words of the same sound; which being the easiest, requiring less art, and needing less spirit (because a certain chime in the sounds supplied that want, and pleased common ears) this in time grew the most general among all the *Gothic* colonies in *Europe*, and made rhymes or *Runes* pass for the modern poetry in these parts of the world.

This

This was not used only in their modern languages, but during those ignorant ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained and was preserved among the Monks and Priests, to distinguish them by some shew of learning from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what degree soever, and reverence the professors, when they themselves could neither write nor read, even in their own language ; I mean not only the vulgar laymen, but even the generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them ; and this lasted till the ancient learning and languages began to be restored in *Europe* about two hundred years ago.

The common vein of the *Gothic Runes* was what is termed *Dithirambic*, and was of a raving or rambling sort of wit or invention, loose and flowing, with little art or confinement to any certain measures or rules ; yet some of it wanted not the true spirit of poetry in some degree, or that natural inspiration which has been said to arise from some spark of poetical fire where-with particular men are born ; and, such as it was, it served the turn, not only to please, but even to charm the ignorant and barbarous vulgar, where it was in use. This made the *Runers* among the *Goths* as much in request and admired, as any of the ancient and most celebrated poets were among the learned nations ; for, among the blind, he that has one eye is a Prince. They were, as well as the others, thought inspired, and the charms of their *Runic* conceptions were generally esteemed divine, or magical at least.

The subjects of them were various, but commonly the same with those already observed in the true ancient poetry. Yet this vein was chiefly employed upon the records of bold and martial actions, and the praises of valiant men that had fought successfully or died bravely ; and these songs or ballads were usually sung at feasts, or in circles of young or idle persons, and served to inflame the humour of war, of slaughter,
and

and of spoils among them. More refined honour or love had little part in the writings, because it had little in the lives or actions, of those fierce people and bloody times. Honour among them consisted in victory, and love in rapes and in lust.

But, as the true flame of poetry was rare among them, and the rest was but wild-fire that sparkled or rather crackled a while, and soon went out with little pleasure or gazing of the beholders; those *Runers*, who could not raise admiration by the spirit of their poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of enchantments: this came in to supply the defect of that sublime and marvellous, which has been found both in poetry and prose among the learned ancients. The *Gothic Runers*, to gain and establish the credit and admiration of their rhimes, turned the use of them very much to incantations and charms, pretending by them to raise storms, to calm the seas, to cause terror in their enemies, to transport themselves in the air, to conjure spirits, to cure diseases, and stanch bleeding wounds, to make women kind or easy, and men hard or invulnerable; as one of their most ancient *Runers* affirms of himself and his own achievements, by force of these magical arms: the men or women, who were thought to perform such wonders or enchantments, were from *Viises* or *Wises*, the name of those verses, wherein their charms were conceived, called *Wizards* or *Witches*.

Out of this quarry, seem to have been raised all those trophies of enchantment, that appear in the whole fabric of the old *Spanish* romances, which were the productions of the *Gothic* wit among them, during their reign; and, after the conquests of *Spain* by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long wars between them and the Christians. From the same, perhaps, may be derived all the visionary tribe of *fairies*, *elves*, and *goblins*, of *sprites*, and of *bulbeggars*, that serve not only

only to fright children into whatever their nurses please, but sometimes, by lasting impressions, to disquiet the sleeps and the very lives of men and women, till they grow to years of discretion; and that, God knows, is a period of time which some people arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At least, this belief prevailed so far among the *Goths* and their races, that all sorts of charms were not only attributed to their *runes* or *verses*, but to their very characters; so that, about the eleventh century, they were forbidden and abolished in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by civil and ecclesiastical commands or constitutions, and what has been since recovered of that learning or language has been fetched as far as *Ysland* itself.

How much of this kind, and of this credulity, remained even to our own age, may be observed by any man that reflects so far as thirty or forty years; how often avouched, and how generally credited, were the stories of *fairies*, *sprites*, *witchcrafts* and *enchantments*? In some parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common people believed certainly there were *Lougarcos*, or men turned into wolves; and I remember several *Irish* of the same mind. The remainders are woven into our very language; *Mara*, in old *runic*, was a *goblin* that seized upon men asleep in their beds, and took from them all speech and motion. Old *Nicka* was a sprite that came to strangle people who fell into the water: *Bo* was a fierce *Gothic* Captain, son of *Odin*, whose name was used by his soldiers when they would fright or surprise their enemies; and the proverb of rhiming *rats to death* came I suppose from the same root.

There were, not longer since than the time I have mentioned, some remainders of the *runic* poetry among the *Irish*. The great men of their *Scepts*, among the many officers of their family, which continued al-

ways

ways in the same races, had not only a *physician*, a *bunisman*, a *smith*, and such like, but a *poet* and a *tale-tellar*; the first recorded and sung the actions of their ancestors, and entertained the company at feasts; the latter amused them with tales when they were melancholy and could not sleep: and a very gallant gentleman of the *North of Ireland* has told me, of his own experience, that, in his wolf-huntings there, when he used to be abroad, in the mountains three or four days together, and lay very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep; they would bring him one of these *tale-tellers*, that, when he lay down, would begin a story of a King, or a giant, a dwarf and a damsel, and such rambling stuff, and continue it all night long in such an even tone that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any physicians give could have so good and so innocent effect, to make men sleep in any pains or distempers of body or mind. I remember, in my youth, some persons of our country to have said grace in rhimes, and others their constant prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough, that some deeds or conveyances of land have been so, since the conquest.

In such poor wretched weeds as these was poetry clothed, during those shades of ignorance that overspread all *Europe* for so many ages after the sun-set of the *Roman* learning and empire together, which were succeeded by so many new dominions, or plantations of the *Gothic* swarms, and by a new face of customs, habit, language, and almost of nature: but, upon the dawn of a new day, and the resurrection of other sciences, with the two learned languages, among us, this of poetry began to appear very early, though very unlike itself, and in shapes as well as cloaths, in humour and in spirit, very different from the ancient. It was now all in rhyme, after the *Gothic* fashion; for indeed none of the several dialects of that language or allay would bear the composure of such feet and mea-

tures, as were in use among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and some that attempted it, soon left it off, despairing of success. Yet, in this new dress, poetry was not without some charms, especially those of grace and sweetness, and the ore begun to shine in the hands and works of the first refiners. *Petrarch*, *Konfard*, *Spencer*, met with much applause upon the subjects of love, praise, grief, reproach. *Ariosto* and *Tasso* entered boldly upon the scene of *heroic* poems; but, having not wings for so high flights, began to learn of the old ones, fell upon their imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the force of their genius, or disadvantages of new languages and customs would allow. The religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the texture of all the ancient poetry with a very agreeable mixture, which made the moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place also in their poems. But the true religion was not found to become fiction so well as a false had done, and all their attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase religion, than to heighten poetry. *Spencer* endeavoured to supply this with morality, and to make instruction, instead of story, the subject of an *Epic* poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high, but his design was poor, and his moral lay so bare, that it lost the effect; 'tis true, the pill was gilded, but so thin, that the colour and the taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the moderns that have made any achievements in *heroic* poetry worth recording. The wits of the age soon left off such bold adventures, and turned to other veins; as if, not worthy to sit down at the feast, they contented themselves with the scraps, with songs and sonnets, with odes and elegies, with satires and panegyrics, and what we call copies of verses upon any subjects or occasions; wanting either genius or application for nobler or more laborious

borious productions, as *painters*, that cannot succeed in great pieces, turn to miniature.

But the modern poets, to value this small coin, and make it pass, though of so much a baser metal than the old, gave it a new mixture from two veins which were little known or little esteemed among the ancients. There were indeed certain *fairies*, in the old regions of poetry, called *Epigrams*, which seldom reached above the stature of two, or four, or six lines, and which being so short, were all turned upon conceit, or some sharp hits of fancy or wit. The only ancient of this kind among the *Latins* were the *Priapeia*, which were little voluntaries or extemporaries, written upon the ridiculous wooden statues of *Priapus*, among the gardens of *Rome*. In the decays of the *Roman* learning and wit, as well as language, *Martial*, *Asinius*, and others fell into this vein, and applied it indifferently to all subjects, which was before restrained to one, and dressed it something more cleanly than it was born. This vein of conceit seemed proper for such scraps or splinters into which poetry was broken, and was so eagerly followed, as almost to over-run all that was composed in our several modern languages; the *Italian*, the *French*, the *Spanish*, as well as *English*, were for a great while, full of nothing else but conceit: it was an ingredient, that gave taste to compositions which had little of themselves; 'twas a sauce that gave point to meat that was flat, and some life to colours that were fading; and, in short, those, who could not furnish spirit, supplied it with this salt, which may preserve things or bodies that are dead; but is, for aught I know, of little use to the living, or necessary to meats that have much or pleasing tastes of their own. However it were, this vein first overflowed our modern poetry, and with so little distinction, or judgment, that we would have conceit as well as rhyme in every two lines, and run through all our long scribbles as well as the

the short, and the whole body of the poem, whatever it is : this was just as if a building should be nothing but ornament, of cloaths nothing but trimming ; as if a face should be covered over with black patches, or a gown with spangles ; which is all I shall say of it.

Another vein which has entered, and helped to corrupt our modern poesy, is that of ridicule ; as if nothing pleased but what made one laugh, which yet come from two very different affections of the mind ; for, as men have no disposition to laugh at things they are most pleased with, so they are very little pleased with many things they laugh at.

But this mistake is very general, and such modern poets, as found no better way of pleasing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing. This was encouraged by finding conversation run so much into the same vein, and the wits in vogue to take up with that part of it, which was formerly left to those that were called fools, and were used in great families, only to make the company laugh. What opinion the *Romans* had of this character, appears in those lines of *Horace*,

——— *Absentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit, alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
Qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.*

And 'tis pity the character of a wit, in one age, should be so like that of a black in another.

Rabelais seems to have been father of the ridicule ; a man of excellent and universal learning as well as wit : and, though he had too much game given him for *satire* in that age, by the customs of courts and of convents, of processes and of wars, of schools and of
camps

camps, of romances and legends; yet he must be confessed to have kept up his vein of ridicule, by saying many things so malicious, so smutty, and so profane, that either a prudent, a modest, or a pious man, could not have afforded, though he had never so much of that coin about him: and it were to be wished, that the wits who have followed his vein had not put too much value upon a dress, that better understandings would not wear, (at least in public) and upon a compass they gave themselves, which other men would not take. The matchless writer of *Don Quixote* is much more to be admired, for having made up so excellent a composition of satire or ridicule, without those ingredients, and seems to be the best and highest strain that ever was, or will be, reached by that vein.

It began first in verse, with an *Italian* poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*; was pursued by *Scarron* in *French*, with his *Virgil* travesty; and in *English* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras*, and *Cotton*, and with greater height of *burlesque* in the *English* than, I think, in any other language. But, let the execution be what it will, the design, the custom, and example are very pernicious to poetry, and indeed to all virtue and good qualities among men, which must be disheartened, by finding how unjustly and undistinguished they fall under the lash of rallery, and this vein of ridiculing the good as well as the ill, the guilty and the innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, though common, pretence to merit, to make it appear by the faults of other men. A mean wit or beauty may pass in a room, where the rest of the company are allowed to have none; 'tis something to sparkle among diamonds, but to shine among *pebbles* is neither credit nor value worth the pretending.

Besides these two veins brought in, to supply the defects of the modern poetry, much application has been made to the smoothness of language or style, which has at the best but the beauty of colouring of a picture

cture, and can never make a good one, without spirit and strength. The academy set up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, to amuse the wits of that age and country, and divert them from raking into his politic and ministry, brought this in vogue; and the *French* wits have for this last age been in a manner wholly turned to the refinement of their language, and indeed with such success, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their verse and their prose. The same vein has been likewise much cultivated in our modern *English* poetry; and by such poor recruits have the broken forces of this empire been of late made up; with what success, I leave to be judged by such, as consider it in the former heights, and the present declines, both of power and of honour; but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true lovers of this mistress, who must ever think her a beauty in rags as well as in robes.

Among these many decays, there is yet one sort of poetry, that seems to have succeeded much better with our moderns than any of the rest, which is *Dramatic*, or that of the stage; in this the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French*, have all had their different merit, and received their just applauses. Yet I am deceived, if our *English* has not in some kind excelled both the modern and the ancient, which has been by force of a vein natural perhaps to our country, and which with us is called humour, a word peculiar to our language too, and hard to be expressed in any other; nor is it (that I know of, found in any foreign writers, unless it be *Moliere*, and yet his itself has too much of the farce, to pass for the same with ours. *Shakespeare* was the first that opened this vein upon our stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have wondered to find it appear so little upon any others, being a subject so proper for them; since humour is but a picture of particular life, as comedy is
of

of general ; and though it represents dispositions and customs less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among men ; for, if humour itself be forced, it loses all the grace, which has been indeed the fault of some of our poets most celebrated in this kind.

It may seem a defect in the ancient stage, that the characters introduced were so few, and those so common ; as, a covetous old man, an amorous young, a witty wench, a crafty slave, a bragging soldier : the spectators met nothing upon the stage, but what they met in the streets, and at every turn, All the variety is drawn only from different and uncommon events ; whereas, if the characters are so too, the diversity and the pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general customs in a country there is usually some ground, from the nature of the people or climate, so there may be amongst us, for this vein of our stage, and a greater variety of humour in the picture, because there is a greater variety in the life. This may proceed from the native plenty of our soil, the unequalness of our climate, as well as the ease of our government, and the liberty of professing opinions and factions, which perhaps our neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguished. Plenty begets wantonness and pride, wantonness is apt to invent, and pride scorns to imitate ; liberty begets stomach or heart, and stomach will not be constrained. Thus we come to have more originals, and more that appear what they are ; we have more humour, because every man follows his own, and takes a pleasure, perhaps a pride, to shew it.

On the contrary, where the people are generally poor, and forced to hard labour, their actions and lives are all of a piece ; where they serve hard masters, they must follow his examples as well as commands,
and

and are forced upon imitation in small matters, as well as obedience in great: so that some nations look as if they were cast all by one mould, or cut out all by one pattern (at least the common people in one, and the Gentlemen in another:) they seem all of a sort in their habits, their customs, and even their talk and conversation, as well as in the application and pursuit of their actions and their lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of variety amongst us, which arises from our climate, and the dispositions it naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another than any nation I know, but we are more unlike ourselves too at several times, and owe to our very air some ill qualities as well as many good. We may allow some distempers incident to our climate, since so much health, vigour, and length of life have been generally ascribed to it; for, among the *Greek* and *Roman* authors themselves, we shall find the *Britons* observed to live the longest, and the *Egyptians* the shortest, of any nations that were known in those ages. Besides, I think none will dispute the native courage of our men, and beauty of our women, which may be elsewhere as great in particulars, but no where so in general; they may be (what is said of diseases) as acute in other places, but with us they are epidemical. For my own part, who have conversed much with men of other nations, and such as have been both in great employments and esteem, I can say very impartially, that I have not observed, among any, so much true genius as among the *English*; no where more sharpness of wit, more pleasantness of humour, more range of fancy, more penetration of thought, or depth of reflexion among the better sort, no where more goodness of nature and of meaning, nor more plainness of sense and of life, than among the common sort of country people; nor more blunt courage and honesty than among our seamen.

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But, with all this, our country must be confessed to be what a great foreign physician called it, the *region of spleen*; which may arise a good deal from the great uncertainty and many sudden changes of our weather in all seasons of the year. And how much these affect the heads and hearts, especially of the finest tempers, is hard to be believed by men whose thoughts are not turned to such speculations. This makes us unequal in our humours, inconstant in our passions, uncertain in our ends, and even in our desires. Besides, our different opinions in religion, and the factions they have raised or animated for fifty years past, have had an ill effect upon our manners and customs, inducing more avarice, ambition, disguise (with the usual consequences of them) than were before in our constitution. From all this, it may happen, that there is no where more true zeal in the many different forms of devotion, and yet no where more knavery under the shews and pretences. There are no where so many disputes upon religion, so many reasoners upon government, so many refiners in politics, so many curious inquisitives, so many pretenders to business, and state-employments, greater porers upon books, nor plodders after wealth; and yet no where more abandoned libertines, more refined luxurists, extravagant debauchees, conceited gallants, more dabblers in poetry as well as politics, in philosophy, and in chymistry. I have had several servants far gone in divinity, others in poetry; have known, in the families of some friends, a keeper deep in the *Rosycrucian* principles, and a laundress firm in those of *Epicurus*. What effect soever such a composition or medley of humours among us may have upon our lives or our government, it must needs have a good one upon our stage, and has given admirable play to our comical wits; so that, in my opinion, there is no vein of that sort, either ancient or modern, which excels or equals the humour of

our plays. And, for the rest, I cannot but observe, to the honour of our country, that the good qualities amongst us seem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and such as would be easily changed by the examples of Princes, and by the precepts of laws; such I mean, as should be designed to form manners, to restrain excesses, to encourage industry, to prevent mens expences beyond their fortunes, to countenance virtue, and raise that true esteem due to plain sense and common honesty.

But to spin off this thread, which is already grown too long: what honour and request the ancient poetry has lived in, may not only be observed from the universal reception and use in all nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the esteem of the best and the greatest men as well as the vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon*, the wisest Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah*, the holiest men, were the best poets of their nation and language. Among the *Greeks*, the two most renowned sages and lawgivers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof the last is known to have excelled in poetry, and the first was so great a lover of it, that to his care and industry we are said (by some authors) to owe the collection and preservation of the loose and scattered pieces of *Homer* in the order wherein they have since appeared. *Alexander* is reported neither to have travelled nor slept without those admirable poems always in his company. *Phalaris*, that was inexorable to all other enemies, relented at the charms of *Stesichorus* his muse. Among the *Romans*, the last and great *Scipio* passed the soft hours of his life in the conversation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a part in the composition of his comedies. *Cæsar* was an excellent poet as well as orator, and composed a poem in his voyage from *Rome* to *Spain*, relieving the tedious difficulties of his march with the entertainments of his muse. *Augustus* was
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not only a patron, but a friend and companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himself both an admirer of poetry, and a pretender too, as far as his genius would reach, or his busy scene allow. 'Tis true, since his age we have few such examples of great Princes favouring or affecting poetry, and as few perhaps of great poets deserving it. Whether it be that the fierceness of the *Gothic* humours, or noise of their perpetual wars, frightened it away, or that the unequal mixture of the modern languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great heights and excellency both of poetry and music fell with the *Roman* learning and empire, and have never since recovered the admiration and applauses that before attended them. Yet, such as they are amongst us, they must be confessed to be the softest and sweetest, the most general and most innocent amusements of common time and life. They still find room in the Courts of Princes, and the cottages of shepherds. They serve to revive and animate the dead calm of poor or idle lives, and to allay or divert the violent passions and perturbations of the greatest and the busiest men. And both these effects are of equal use to human life; for the mind of man is like the sea, which is neither agreeable to the beholder nor the voyager in a calm or in a storm, but is so to both when a little agitated by gentle gales; and so the mind, when moved by soft and easy passions and affections. I know very well, that many, who pretend to be wise by the forms of being grave, are apt to despise both poetry and music as toys and trifles too light for the use or entertainment of serious men. But, whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these charms, would, I think, do well to keep their own counsel, for fear of reproaching their own temper, and bringing the goodness of their natures, if not of their understandings, into question: it may be thought at least an ill sign, if not an ill constitution,

stitution, since some of the fathers went so far, as to esteem the love of music a sign of predestination, as a thing divine, and reserved for the felicities of heaven itself. While this world lasts, I doubt not but the pleasure and requests of these two entertainments will do so too: and happy those that content themselves with these, or any other so easy and so innocent; and do not trouble the world, or other men, because they cannot be quiet themselves, though no body hurts them!

When all is done, human life is, at the greatest and the best, but like a froward child, that must be played with and humoured a little to keep it quiet till it falls asleep, and then the care is over.

MISCELLANEA

MISCELLANEA.

T H E

T H I R D P A R T,

C O N T A I N I N G,

- I. *An* ESSAY *on* POPULAR DISCONTENTS.
- II. *An* ESSAY *upon* HEALTH *and* LONG LIFE.
- III. *A* DEFENCE *of the* ESSAY *upon* ANCIENT *and*
MODERN LEARNING.

With some other PIECES.

MISCELLANEA

THIRD PART

CONTAINING

I. The Essay on Toleration Discontinued.

II. The History of the Church of England.

III. A Dissertation of the History and Antiquities of the

Church of England.

Which form other Parts.

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THE two following essays, Of Popular Discontents, and Of Health and long Life, were written many years before the author's death: they were revised and corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a Third Miscellanea, to which some others were to have been added, if the latter part of his life had been attended with any sufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controversy about Ancient and Modern Learning, I cannot well inform the reader upon what occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the author.

The two next papers contain the heads of two essays, intended to have been written upon the Different Conditions of Life and Fortune; and upon Conversation. I have directed they should both be
printed

printed among the rest, because I believed there are few who will not be content to see even the first draughts of any thing from this author's hands.

At the end I have added a few translations from Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus, or rather imitations, done by the author above thirty years ago; whereof the first was printed among other eclogues of Virgil in the year 1679, but without any mention of the author. They were indeed not intended to have been made public, till I was informed of several copies that were got abroad, and these very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

O F

Popular Discontents.

S E C T. I.

AMONG several differences or distinctions which curious and busy, or rather idle men, have observed between the races of mankind and those of their fellow-creatures, most have been by some disputed, and few by all allowed. Those chiefly insisted on have been something peculiar in their shape, weeping, laughter, speech, reason; but the comptrollers of vulgar opinion have pretended to find out such a similitude of shape in some kind of baboons, or at least such as they call drills, that leaves little difference besides those of feature in face, and of hair on their bodies, in both which, men themselves are very different. They observe tears (though not the convulsions of face by weeping) in stags and tortoises, upon approach of the fatal knife; and that they cry at going out of the world, as well as men at their coming in. For speech, they pretend to doubt, whether the divers sounds made by animals may not have diversity of significations, as words more articulate with us, and whether we can properly judge of their diversity, since we find so little in the common speech of some nations, especially those about the *Cape of Good Hope* and the northern parts of *Muscovy*,
VOL. II. Y y where

where they are observed to drive their trade of selling furs without the use of above twenty words, even with those that understand their language. For the great number of words seems not natural, but introduced by the variety of passions, actions, possessions, business, entertainments in more civilized nations, and by long course of time under civil governments. Besides, other creatures are allowed to express their most natural wants and passions by the sounds they make as well as men, which is all that is necessary in speech; and none will dispute anger, desire, love, fear, to be livelier expressed by us, than by the lion, the horse, the bull, the buck; or tenderness, more than by the bleating of ewes to their lambs, or the kindness of turtles to their mates. For articulate sounds and words, we meet them in parrots and several other birds; and, if theirs are taught them, so are ours at first to children; and, though we usually esteem them in others to be only repetition or imitation, yet some instances of the contrary have been remarked in our age; and it appears by *Greek* and *Latin* authors to have been believed by ancients, that certain birds in the *Indies* were commonly known not only to speak as parrots among us, but to talk and discourse.

For reason, that of brutes, as dogs, horses, owls, foxes, but especially elephants, is so common a theme, that it needs no instances, nor can well be illustrated beyond what *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, *Montaigne*, and many others have curiously written upon that subject; nor can any man's common life pass, without occasions of remark, and even wonder, upon what they may see every day of this kind: so that of all those distinctions mentioned, and usually produced, there is none left unquestioned by the curious beside that of laughter, which cannot, I think, or at least I know not to have been disputed, being proper and peculiar to man, without any traces or similitude of it in any other creature:

ture : and, if it were always an expression of good humour, or being pleased, we should have reason to value ourselves more upon it ; but 'tis moved by such different and contrary objects and affections, that it has gained little esteem, since we laugh at folly as well as wit, at accidents that vex us sometimes, as well as others that please us, and at the malice of apes, as well as the innocence of children ; and the things that please us most, are apt to make other sorts of motions both in our faces and hearts, and very different from those of laughter.

But there remains yet one other difference between us and the rest of our fellow-creatures, which, though less taken notice of in the usual reasonings or inquiries of this kind, yet seems to challenge a rank and a right as due and as undisputed as any of the others, which seems a very ill effect of a very good cause, a thorn that ever grows with a rose, and a great debasement of the greatest prerogative mankind can pretend to, which is that of reason : what I mean is, a certain restlessness of mind and thought, which seems universally and inseparably annexed to our very natures and constitutions, unsatisfied with what we are, or what we at present possess and enjoy, still raving after something past or to come, and by griefs, regrets, desires, or fears, ever troubling and corrupting the pleasures of our senses and of our imaginations, the enjoyments of our fortunes, or the best production of our reasons, and thereby the content and happiness of our lives.

This is the true, natural, and common source of such personal dissatisfactions, such domestic complaints, and such popular discontents, as afflict not only our private lives, conditions, and fortunes, but even our civil states and governments, and thereby consummate the particular and general infelicity of mankind ; which is enough complained of by all that consider it in the common actions and passions of life, but much more
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in the factions, seditions, convulsions, and fatal revolutions that have so frequently, and in all ages, attended all or most of the governments in the world.

To these, of old, *Sparta* and *Athens* have been subject, as well as *Carthage* and *Rome*; the smaller kingdoms of *Epire* and *Macedon*, as well as the great Empires of *Egypt* and *Persia*; the *Monarchies*, *Aristocracies*, and *Democracies* among the *Gentiles*, and even the *Theocracy* among the *Jews*, though one was instituted by God himself, and many of the others framed by the wisest of mortal men. In latter ages, *Venice* and *Holland* have been infested by these diseases, as well as *England* and *France*; the kingdoms of the *Moors* in *Spain*, as well as those of the *Goths*; the Christian governments, as well as the *Mahometan*; and those of the reformed, like those of the *Roman* faith.

This restless humour, so general and natural to mankind, is a weed that grows in all soils and under all climates, but seems to thrive most and grow fastest in the best: 'tis raised easier by the more sprightly wits and livelier imaginations, than by grosser and duller conceptions; nor have the regions of *Guinea* and *Muscovy* been so much over-run with it, as those of *Italy* and *Greece*. The most speculative men are the most forecasting and most reflecting; and, the more ingenious men are, they are the more apt to trouble themselves.

From this original fountain issue those streams of faction, that, with some course of time and accidents, overflow the wisest constitutions of governments and laws, and many times treat the best Princes and truest Patriots, like the worst tyrants and most seditious disturbers of their country, and bring such men to scaffolds, that deserved statues, to violent and untimely deaths, that were worthy of the longest and the happiest lives. If such only as *Phalaris* and *Agathocles*, as *Marius* and *Catiline*, had fallen victims to faction, or

to popular rage, we should have little to wonder or complain, but we find the wisest, the best of men, have been sacrificed to the same idols. *Solon* and *Pythagoras* have been allowed as such in their own and in succeeding ages; and yet the one was banished and the other murdered by factions that two ambitious men had raised in commonwealths, which those two wise and excellent men themselves had framed. The two *Gracchi*, the truest lovers of their country, were miserably slain: *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, the greatest and most glorious Captains of their own, or perhaps any other ages, and the best servants of those two great commonwealths, were banished or disgraced by the factions of their countries: and, to come nearer home, *Barneveldt* and *De Wit* in *Holland*, *Sir Thomas Moore*, and the *Earl of Essex*, and *Sir Walter Raleigh* in *England*, esteemed the most extraordinary persons of their time, fell all bloody sacrifices to the factions of their courts or their countries.

There is no theme so large and so easy, no discourse so common and so plausible, as the faults or corruptions of governments, the miscarriages or complaints of Magistrates; none so easily received, and spread, among good and well-meaning men, none so mischievously raised and employed by ill, nor turned to worse and more disguised ends. No governments, no times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all men are wise, good, and easily contented. No civil or politic constitutions can be perfect or secure, whilst they are composed of men, that are for the most part passionate, interested, unjust, or unthinking, but generally and naturally restless, and unquiet; discontented with the present, and what they have, raving after the future, or something they want, and thereby ever disposed and desirous to change.

This makes the first and universal default of all governments; and this made the philosophers of old, instead

instead of seeking or accepting the public magistracies or offices of their countries, employ their time and care to improve mens reasons, to temper their affections, to allay their passions, to discover the vanity or the mischief of pride and ambition, of riches and of luxury; believing the only way, to make their countries happy and safe, was to make men wise and good, just and reasonable. But as nature will ever be too strong for art, so these excellent men succeeded as little in their design, as lawgivers have done in the frame of any perfect government, and all of them left the world much as they found it, ever unquiet, subject to changes and revolutions, as our minds are to discontents, and our bodies to diseases.

Another cause of distempers in state, and discontents under all governments, is the unequal condition that must necessarily fall to the share of so many and so different men that compose them. In great multitudes, few in comparison are born to great titles or great estates; few can be called to public charges and employments of dignity or power, and few by their industry and conduct arrive at great degrees of wealth and fortune; and every man speaks of the fair as his own market goes in it. All are easily satisfied with themselves and their own merit, though they are not so with their fortune; and, when they see others in better condition whom they esteem less deserving, they lay it upon the ill constitution of government, the partiality or humour of Princes, the negligence or corruption of Ministers. The common sort of people always find fault with the times, and some must always have reason, for the merchant gains by peace, and the soldiers by war; the shepherd by wet seasons, and the ploughman by dry: when the city fills, the country grows empty; and, while trade increases in one place, it decays in another. In such variety of conditions and courses of life, mens designs and interests

terests must be opposite one to another, and both cannot succeed alike: whether the winner laughs or no, the loser will complain, and, rather than quarrel at his own skill or fortune, will do it with the dice, or those he plays with, or the master of the house. When any body is angry, some body must be in fault; and those of seasons which cannot be remedied, of accidents that could not be prevented, of miscarriages that could not be foreseen, are often laid upon the government, and, whether right or wrong, have the same effect of raising or increasing the common and popular discontents.

Besides the natural propension, and the inevitable occasions of complaint from the dispositions of men, or accidents of fortune; there are others that proceed from the very nature of government. None was ever perfect, or free from very many and very just exceptions. The republics of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Rome*, so renowned in the world, and which have furnished story with the greatest actions and persons upon the records of time, were but long courses of disorder and vicissitude, perpetually rolling between the oppressions of Nobles, the seditions of people, the insolence of soldiers, or tyranny of commanders. All places and ages of the world yield the same examples; and if we travel as far as *China* and *Peru*, to find the best composed frames of government that seem to have been in the world, yet we meet with none that has not been subject to the same concussions, fallen at one time or other under the same convulsions of state, either by civil dissensions, or by foreign invasions.

But how can it otherwise fall out, when the very *ideas* of government have been liable to exceptions, as well as their actual frames and constitutions? The republic of *Plato*, the principality of *Hobbs*, the rotation of *Oceana*, have been all indicted and found guilty of many faults, or of great infirmities. Nay, the

the very kinds of government have never yet been out of dispute, but equal faults have by some or other been laid to the charge of them all: an absolute monarchy ruins the people; one limited endangers the Prince; an aristocracy is subject to emulations of the great, and oppressions of the meaner sort; a democracy to popular tumults and convulsions; and, as tyranny commonly ends in popular tumults, so do these often in tyranny, whilst factions are so violent that they will trust any thing else rather than one another.

So as a perfect scheme of government seems as endless and as useless a search, as that of the universal medicine, or the philosopher's stone; never any of them out of our fancy, never any like to be in our possession.

Could we suppose a body politic framed perfect in its first conception or institution, yet it must fall into decays, not only from the force of accidents, but even from the very rust of time; and, at certain periods, must be furnished up, or reduced to its first principles, by the appearance and exercise of some great virtues or some great severities. This the *Florentines* in their republic termed *Ripigliare il Stato*, and the *Romans* often attempted it by introducing *Agrarian* laws, but could never achieve it; they rather inflamed their dissensions by new feuds between the richer and poorer sort.

There is one universal division in all states, which is between the innocent and criminals; and another between such as are, in some measure, contented with what they possess by inheritance, or what they expect from their own abilities, industry, or parsimony; and others, who, dissatisfied with what they have, and not trusting to those innocent ways of acquiring more, must fall to others, and pass from just to unjust, from peaceable to violent. The first desire safety, and to keep

keep what they have; the second are content with dangers, in hope to get what others legally possess: one loves the present state and government, and endeavours to secure it; the other desires to end this game, and shuffle for a new: one loves fixed laws and the other arbitrary power; yet the last, when they have gained enough by factions and disorders, by rapine and violence, come then to change their principles with their fortunes, and grow friends to established orders and fixed laws. So the *Normans* of old, when they had divided the spoils of the *English* lands and possessions, grew bold defenders of the ancient *Saxon* customs, or common laws of the kingdom, against the encroachments of their own Kings. So of later days it was observed, that *Cromwell's* officers in the army, who were at first for burning all records, for levelling of lands while they had none of their own; yet, when afterwards they were grown rich and landed men, they fell into the praise of the *English* laws, and to cry up *Magna Charta*, as our ancestors had done with much better grace.

But laws serve to keep men in order when they are first well agreed and instituted, and afterwards continue to be well executed. Discontents, disorders, and civil dissensions much more frequently arise from want or miscarriage in the last than in the former. Some excellent lawgiver, or senate, may invent and frame some excellent constitution of government; but none can provide that all magistrates or officers necessary to conduct or support it shall be wise men or good; or, if they are both, shall have such care and industry, such application and vigour as their offices require. Now, were the constitution of any government never so perfect, the laws never so just; yet, if the administration be ill, ignorant, or corrupt, too rigid or too remiss, too negligent or severe, there will be more just occasions given of discontent and complaint, than

from any weakness or fault in the original conception or institution of government. For it may perhaps be concluded, with as much reason as other themes of the like nature, that those are generally the best governments where the best men govern; and, let the sort or scheme be what it will, those are ill governments where ill men govern; and are generally employed in the offices of state. Yet this is an evil under the sun, to which all things under the sun are subject, not only by accident, but even by natural dispositions, which can very hardly be altered, nor ever were, that we read of, unless in that ancient government of the *Chinese* empire, established upon the deepest and wisest foundations of any that appears in story.

How can a Prince always chuse well such as he employs, when men's dispositions are so easily mistaken, and their abilities too? how deceitful are appearances? how false are men's professions? how hidden are their hearts? how disguised their principles? how uncertain their humours? many men are good and esteemed when they are private, ill and hated when they are in office; honest and contented when they are poor, covetous and violent when they grow rich: they are bold one day, and cautious another; active at one time of their lives, and lazy the rest; sometimes pursue their ambition, and sometimes their pleasure; nay, among soldiers, some are brave one day, and cowards another, as great Captains have told me on their own experience and observation. Gravity often passes for wisdom, wit for ability; what men say for what they think, and boldness of talk for boldness of heart; yet they are often found to be very different. Nothing is so easily cheated, nor so commonly mistaken, as vulgar opinion; and many men *come out*, when they *come into* great and public employments; the weakness of whose heads or hearts would never have been discovered

covered, if they had kept within their private spheres of life.

Besides, Princes or states cannot run into every corner of their dominions, to look out persons fit for their service, or that of the public: they cannot see far with their own eyes, nor hear with their own ears; and must for the most part do both with those of other men, or else chuse among such smaller numbers as are most in their way; and these are such, generally, as make their court, or give their attendance, in order to advance themselves to honours, to fortunes, to places and employments; and are usually the least worthy of them, and better servants to themselves than the government. The needy, the ambitious, the half-witted, the proud, the covetous are ever restless to get into public employments, and many others that are uneasy or ill entertained at home. The forward, the busy, the bold, the sufficient, pursue their game with more passion, endeavour, application, and thereby often succeed where better men would fail. In the course of my observation I have found no talent of so much advantage among men, towards their growing great or rich, as a violent and restless passion and pursuit for one or t'other: and whosoever sets his heart and thoughts wholly upon some one thing must have very little wit, or very little luck, to fail. Yet all these cover their ends with most worthy pretences, and those noble sayings, *That men are not born for themselves, and must sacrifice their lives for the public, as well as their time and their health*: and those who think nothing less are so used to say such fine things, that such who truly believe them are almost ashamed to own it. In the mean time, the noble, the wise, the rich, the modest, those are easy in their conditions or their minds, those who know most of the world and themselves, are not only careless, but often averse from entering into public charges or employments, unless

unless upon the necessities of their country, commands of their Prince, or instances of their friends. What is to be done in this case, when such as offer themselves, and pursue, are not worth having, and such, as are most worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept?

There is yet one difficulty more, which sometimes arrives like an ill season or great barrenness in a country: some ages produce many great men and few great occasions; other times, on the contrary, raise great occasions, and few or no great men: and that sometimes happens to a country, which was said by the fool of *Brederode*; who going about the fields, with the motions of one sowing corn, was asked what he sowed; he said, I sow fools; t'other replied, why do you not sow wisemen? why, said the fool, *C'est que la terre ne les porte pas*. In some places and times, the races of men may be so decayed, by the infirmities of birth itself, from the diseases or disaffection of parents; may be so depraved by the viciousness or negligence of education, by licentious customs, and luxuries of youth, by ill examples of Princes, parents, and magistrates, or by lewd and corrupt principles, generally infused and received among a people, that it may be hard for the best Princes and Ministers to find subjects fit for the command of armies, or great charges of the state; and, if these are ill supplied, there will be always too just occasion given for exception and complaints against the government, though it be never so well framed and instituted.

These defects and infirmities, either natural or accidental, make way for another; which is more artificial, but of all others the most dangerous. For when, upon any of these occasions, complaints and discontents are sown among well-meaning men, they are sure to be cultivated by others that are ill and interested, and who cover their own ends under those of
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the public, and, by the good and service of the nation, mean nothing but their own. The practice begins of knaves upon fools, of artificial and crafty men upon the simple and the good; these easily follow, and are caught, while the others lay trains, and pursue a game, wherein they design no other share, than of toil and danger to their company, but the gain and the quarry wholly to themselves.

They blow up sparks that fall in by chance, or could not be avoided, or else throw them in where-ever they find the stubble is dry: they find out miscarriages where-ever they are, and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel first with the officers, and then with the Prince or the state; sometimes with the execution of laws, and at others with the institutions, how ancient and sacred soever. They make fears pass for dangers, and appearances for truth; represent misfortunes for faults, and mole-hills for mountains; and by the persuasions of the vulgar, and pretences of patriots, or lovers of their country, at the same time they undermine the credit and authority of the government, and set up their own. This raises a faction between those subjects that would support it, and those that would ruin it; or rather between those that possess the honours and advantages of it, and those that, under the pretence of reforming, design only or chiefly to change the hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest.

When this fire is kindled, both sides inflame it; all care of the public is laid aside, and nothing is pursued but the interest of the factions: all regard of merit is lost in persons employed, and those only chosen, that are true to the party; and all the talent required is, to be hot, to be heady, to be violent of one side or other. When these storms are raised, the wise and the good are either disgraced or laid aside, or retire of themselves, and leave the scene free to
such

such as are most eager, or most active to get upon the stage, or find most men ready to help them up.

From these seeds grow popular commotions, and at last seditions, which so often end in some fatal periods of the best governments, in so strong convulsions and revolutions of state; and many times make way for new institutions and forms, never intended by those who first began or promoted them; and often determine either in setting up some tyranny at home, or bringing in some conquest from abroad. For the animosities and hatred of the factions grow so great, that they will submit to any power, the most arbitrary and foreign, rather than yield to an opposite party at home; and are of the mind of a great man in one of our neighbouring countries, who, upon such a conjuncture, said, if he must be eaten up, he would rather it should be by wolves than by rats.

It imports little, from what poor small springs the torrents of faction first arise, if they are fed with care, and improved by industry, and meet with dispositions fitted to receive and embrace them. That of the *Prasini* and *Veneti* was as violent and fatal at *Constantinople*, as that of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in *Italy*: though one began only upon the divided opinions and affections, about two public theatres, or play-houses, called the blue, and the sea-green: whereas the other pretended the right of investing Bishops to be in the Emperor or the Pope. Whatever the beginnings of factions are, the consequences are the same, and the ends too, of those chiefly engaged in them, which is to act the same part in different masks, and to pursue private passions or interests, under public pretences.

Upon the survey of these dispositions in mankind, and these conditions of government, it seems much more reasonable to pity, than to envy the fortunes
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and dignities of Princes or great Ministers of state; and to lessen or excuse their venial faults, or at least their misfortunes, rather than to increase or make them worse by ill colours and representations. For, as every Prince should govern, as he would desire to be governed if he were a subject, so every subject should obey, as he would desire to be obeyed, if he were a Prince; since this moral principle of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the most undisputed and universally allowed of any other in the world, how ill soever it may be practised by particular men.

It would be hard to leave Princes and states with so ill prospects and presages of ease or success in the administration of their governments, as these reflexions must afford them; and therefore I will not end this essay, without some offers at their safety, by fixing some marks like lights upon a coast, by which their ships may avoid, at least, known rocks or sands, where wrecks or dangers have been usually observed: for, to those that come from heaven by storms, or the fatal periods decreed above, all the world must submit.

The first safety of Princes and states lies in avoiding all councils or designs of innovation, in ancient and established forms and laws, especially those concerning liberty, property, and religion (which are the possessions men will ever have most at heart); and thereby leaving the channel of known and common justice clear and undisturbed.

The second, in pursuing the true and common interest of the nation they govern, without espousing those of any party or faction; or, if these are so formed in a state, that they must incline to one or other, then to choose and favour that which is most popular, or wherein the greatest or strongest part of the people appear to be engaged. For, as the end of government seems to be *salus populi*, so the strength of the government

government is the consent of the people ; which made that maxim of *vox populi, vox Dei* : that is, the governors, who are few, will ever be forced to follow the strength of the governed, who are many, let them be either people or armies, by which they govern.

A third is, the countenancing and introducing, as far as is possible, the customs and habits of industry and parsimony into the countries they govern ; for frugal and industrious men are usually safe and friendly to the established government, as the idle and expensive are dangerous from their humours or necessities.

The last consists in preventing dangers from abroad ; for foreign dangers raise fears at home, and fears among the people raise jealousies of the Prince or state, and give them ill opinions, either of their abilities, or their good intentions. Men are apt to think well of themselves, and of their nation, of their courage and their strength ; and, if they see it in danger, they lay the fault upon the weakness, ill conduct, or corruption of their governors, the ill orders of state, ill choice of officers, or ill discipline of armies ; and nothing makes a discontent or sedition so fatal at home, as an invasion, or the threats and prospect of one from abroad.

Upon these four wheels, the chariot of a state may, in all appearance, drive easy and safe, or at least not be too much shaken by the usual roughness of ways, unequal humours of men, or any common accidents : further is not to be provided ; for, though the beginnings of great fires are often discovered and thereby others easily prevented with care ; yet some may be thrown in from engines far off, and out of sight ; others may fall from heaven ; and it is hard to determine whether some constellations of celestial bodies, or inflammations of air from meteors or comets, may not have a powerful effect upon the minds, as well as the bodies, of men, upon the distempers and diseases of
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both, and thereby upon heats and humours of vulgar minds, and the commotions and seditions of a people who happen to be most subjected to their influence: in such cases, when the flame breaks out, all that can be done is, to remove as fast as can be all materials that are like to increase it, to employ all ways and methods of quenching it, to repair the breaches and losses it has occasioned, and to bear with patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied.

S E C T. II.

I Cannot leave this subject of popular discontents, without reflecting and bewailing, how much and how often our unfortunate country has been infested by them, and their fatal consequences, in the miseries and deplorable effects of so many foreign and civil wars, as these have occasioned, and seem still to threaten: how often they have ruined or changed the Crown; how much blood they have drawn of the bravest subjects; how they have ravaged and defaced the noblest island of the world, and which seems, from the happy situation, the temper of climate, the fertility of soil, the numbers and native courage of the inhabitants, to have been destined by God and nature, for the greatest happiness and security at home, and to give laws, or ballance at least, to all their neighbours abroad.

These popular discontents, with the factions and dissensions they have raised, made way for the *Roman*, *Saxon*, and *Norman* conquests: these drew so much blood, and made so great desolations in the Barons wars during the reigns of several Kings, till the time of *Edward III.* upon disputes between prerogative and liberty, or the rights of the Crown, and those of the subject. These involved the nation in perpetual com-

motions or civil wars, from the reign of *Richard II.* to *Henry VII.* upon the disputes of right and title to the crown, between the two roses, or the races of *York* and *Lancaster*, while the popular discontents at the present reign made way for the succession of a new Pretender, more than any regards of right or justice in their title, which served only to cover the bent and humour of the people to such a change. In the time of *Henry VIII.* began the differences of religion, which tore the nation into two mighty factions, and, under the names of Papist and Protestant, struggled in her bowels with many various events and many consequences, many fatal effects, and more fatal dangers, till the *Spanish* invasion in 1588. After which, the ballance of the parties grew so unequal in weight and number, as to calm and secure the rest of *Queen Elizabeth's* time: yet, before the end of her reign began a new faction in the State to appear and swell against the established government of the Church, under pretence of a further reformation, after the examples of *Geneva* or *Stratsburgh*, from whence the chief of this party, during the flight or banishment from the cruelties of *Queen Mary's* reign, drew their protection and their opinions, in defiance of ecclesiastical powers and dignities, as well as several ceremonies, such as the surplice, the altar, and the cross, with others yet more indifferent. This faction increased in number, and popular vogue or esteem, all the reign of *King James*; and, seeming to look either dangerously or unkindly upon the Crown, gave occasion to the Court of endeavouring to introduce into the Church and State some opinions the most contrary to those of the Puritan, or dissenting faction; as that of divine right, and thereby more arbitrary power in Kings; and that of passive obedience in the subjects. These opinions or pretences divided the nation into parties, so equal in number or in strength, by the weight of the established government

vernment on the one hand, and the popular humour on the other, as produced those long miseries, and fatal revolutions of the Crown and nation, between 1641 and 1660, when his Majesty's happy restoration seemed to have given a final period to all new commotions or revolutions in this kingdom, and to all discontents that were considerable enough to raise or foment any new divisions. How they have been since revived, and so well improved; for what ends, and with what consequences upon the safety, honour, and power of this kingdom, let those answer either to God or man, who have been the authors or promoters of such wise councils, and such noble designs. 'Tis enough for me to have endeavoured the union of my country, whilst I continued in public employments; and to have left the busy scene, in the fullest career of favour and of fortune, rather than have any part in the divisions or factions of our nation, when I saw them grow incurable. A true and honest physician is excused for leaving his patient, when he finds the disease grown desperate, and can, by his attendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deserving them, or contributing further to his health or recovery.

A weak or unequal faction, in any state, may serve perhaps to enliven or animate the vigour of a government; but, when it grows equal, or near proportioned in strength or number, and irreconcilable by the animosity of the parties, it cannot end without some violent *crisis* and convulsion of the state, and hardly without some new revolution, and perhaps final ruin, of the government, in case a foreign invasion enters upon the breaches of civil distractions.

But such fatal effects of popular discontents, either past or to come, in this floating island, will be a worthy subject of some better history than has been yet written of *England*. I shall here only regret one unhappy

happy effect of our discontents and divisions, that will ever attend them, even when they are not violent or dangerous enough to disturb our peace; which is, that they divert our greatest councils from falling upon the consultations and pursuits of several acts and institutions, which seem to be the most useful and necessary for the common interest and public good of the kingdom, without regard to any partialities, which busy the councils as well as actions of all factious times.

I shall therefore trace, upon this paper, the rough draught of some such notions as I have had long and often in my head, but never found a season to pursue them, nor of late years ever believed it could fall out in the course of my life. And, having long since retired from all public employments, I shall, with this essay, take leave of all public thoughts.

The first act I esteem of greatest and most general use, if not necessity, is, that whereas the safety, honour, and wealth of this kingdom depends chiefly on our naval forces, a distinct and perpetual revenue may be applied, and appropriated by act of parliament, for the maintaining of fifty men of war, with ten thousand seamen, to be always either at sea, or ready in port to sail upon all occasions; this navy to be so proportioned, by the several rates of ships, as may serve in peace to secure our trade from the danger of all *Turkish* piracies, or sudden insults or insolencies of our neighbours; may assert the dominion and safety of the *narrow seas*; and, in time of war, may, with the addition of thirty capital ships more, compose a fleet strong enough, with the blessing of God and a just cause, to fight a fair battle with any fleet the strongest of our neighbours can pretend to set out; for I am of opinion, that fourscore *English* men of war well manned, with the conduct of good officers, and hearts of our seamen, may boldly engage the greatest of them, whenever they come to a close fight; which the built
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of our ships, and courage of our seamen, is more proper and able to maintain than any other nation of the world. The constant charge of fifty such ships may amount to six hundred thousand pounds a-year; and, if this exceeded the current charge, the rest might be applied to repair old or build new ships. One half might be appropriated to this use out of the customs, and the other half raised by some clear tax upon the houses or lands of each parish, collected by the churchwardens, each half year, and by them paid into the sheriff of each county, and by him into the treasury of the navy. This should be fixed in some place of the city, and managed by three commissioners, who should upon salaries (and without fees) be sworn to issue it out to no other uses than those above mentioned, and incur the penalties of treason in case they failed. Such a tax would be insensible, and pass but as a small quit-rent, which every man would be content to pay towards the guard of the seas; the money would circulate at home among ourselves, and would secure and increase the vast wealth of our trade. But it is unaccountable what treasures it would save this nation, by preventing so many wars or quarrels abroad as we have been exposed to by our neighbours insolencies, upon our being disarmed or ill-provided at sea. Nor would such a fleet constantly maintained be of small effect to poise any factions or discontents at home, but would at least leave us to compose our own differences, or decide our quarrels without the dangerous intervention or invasion of any foreign power.

The second is, that whereas the strength and wealth of any country consists chiefly in the numbers and riches of the inhabitants, and these are much encouraged and increased by the security of what estates men shall be able to gain by their industry, and parsimony, or of what foreigners shall be desirous to bring from abroad, upon any dangers or dislikes of their own countries

countries or governments; any act may pass for public registries of land, by which all purchasers or mortgagees may be secured of all monies they shall lay out upon such occasions. I dare hardly venture to say how great sums of money I could have sent over during my embassies abroad, if I could have proposed any safe and easy ways of securing them for the owners, whereof many were resolved to follow their effects, if they might have had this just encouragement. I know very well how many arguments will be raised against such an act, and chiefly by the lawyers, whose unreasonable gains arise from such suits and disputes as would be avoided by such an institution. For this reason, they will ever entangle any such proposal not only with many difficulties, but, by their nice and subtle reasonings, will pretend even impossibilities. I shall not here trouble myself to answer all I have heard, and all I believe they can say upon this subject, farther than by one common maxim, that whatever has been may be; and, since we know this to have been practised with infinite advantage ever since *Charles V.*'s time, both in the *Spanish* and *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, no man can pretend to doubt but with the same sense, application, and public intentions in our government, it may likewise be established here. There is something equivalent to it in *France*, which they call *vendre par decret*, and which ends all disputes or pretences; as likewise in *Scotland*: so as 'tis a very hard calumny upon our soil or climate, to affirm that so excellent a fruit, which prospers among all our neighbours, will not grow here.

Besides, there needs no more than to make such a registry only voluntary, to avoid all the difficulties that can be raised, and which are not too captious, or too trivial to take notice of. The difference of value between those lands men should chuse to register, and those left loose, would soon evince the benefit of
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such an act, as well as the money it would draw from abroad.

One argument I have met with from some persons who always value themselves to their country by jealousies of the Crown, and that is the increase of offices in the King's disposal: but rather than such a thing should fail, and if all scruples must be satisfied, the registers in each county may be chosen by the county court, and their patents may be always granted during good behaviour.

Another act which seems necessary or agreeable to our constitution, and at all seasons, both of health and distempers in the state, is a provision for the better employing all those vast sums of monies, which are either raised every year in this kingdom for the maintenance of the poor, or bestowed freely upon such charitable uses. A great part of this treasure is now embezzled, lavished, or feasted away by collectors and other officers, or else so employed as rather to increase than relieve the poor; whereas if it were laid out in erecting work-houses in each county, or in raising a stock to find continual work for such as should fill them (if any more speedy way should be found to build them) not only the impotent poor might be relieved, but the idle and able might be forced to labour, and others who wanted it might find employment: and if this were turned chiefly upon our woollen manufacture (which ought to be ever the staple trade of *England*, as that of linen ought to be of *Ireland*) it would soon improve to such a height as to out-sell our neighbours, and thereby advance the proportion of our exported commodities to such a degree, as would by the return increase the treasure of this kingdom above what it has ever been known, or can ever be by other means, than a mighty over-balance of our exported to our imported commodities. All other cares or projects, to bring in coin or bullion, are either insignificant

cant or temporary, if not wholly vain, and sometimes prejudicial.

I have often thought that some more effectual way might be found out for preventing or suppressing of common thefts and robberies (which so often endanger or disquiet the inhabitants, and infest the trade of this kingdom) than those which are of common use among us. The sanguinary laws upon these occasions, as they are not of ancient date, so they seem not to agree with the mildness and clemency of our government in the rest of its composition. Besides, they deprive us of so many subjects, whose lives are every year cut off in great numbers, and which might otherwise be of use to the kingdom, whose strength consists in the number, and riches, and the labour of the inhabitants. But the worst part of this custom or institution is, that they have hitherto proved without effect, and have neither extinguished the humour and practice of such crimes, nor lessened the number of such criminals amongst us: nor is it indeed to be hoped or expected they ever should, in a nation whose known and general character is, to be more fearless of death and dangers than any other, and more impatient of labour or of hardships, either in suffering the want, or making the provision of such food and cloaths as they find or esteem necessary for the sustenance of their lives, or for the health, and strength, and vigour of their bodies. This appears among all our troops that serve abroad, as indeed their only weak side, which makes the care of the belly the most necessary piece of conduct in the commander of an *English* army, who will never fail of fighting well, if they are well fed. For these reasons it may seem probable, that the more natural and effectual way in our nation, to prevent or suppress thefts and robberies, were, to change the usual punishment by short and easy deaths, into some others of painful and uneasy lives, which they will find
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much harder to bear, and be more unwilling and afraid to suffer than the other. Therefore a liberty might at least be left to the judges and the bench, according to the difference of persons, crimes, and circumstances, to inflict either death, or some notorious mark, by slitting the nose, or such brands upon the cheeks, which can never be effaced by time or art; and such persons to be condemned either to slavery in our plantations abroad, or labour in work houses at home; and this either for their lives, or certain numbers of years, according to the degrees of their crimes. However, the distinguished marks of their guilt would be not only perpetual ignominy, but discover them upon escapes, and warn others of their danger wherever they are encountered.

I do not esteem it wholly improbable, that some such laws as these forementioned may at one time or other be considered, at least in some Parliament that shall be at leisure from the necessity or urgency of more pressing affairs, and shall be cool and undisturbed from those heats of faction, or animosity of parties, as have in our age been so usual within those walls, and in so great a measure diverted the regards and debates of public and lasting institutions, to those of temporary provisions or expedients upon present occasions and conjunctures in the courses or changes of our government, or distempers of the State. But there are some other institutions I am content to trace out upon this paper, that would make me appear either visionary or impertinent, if I should imagine they could either be resolved in our age and country, or be made farther use of, than for the present humour of our times to censure and to ridicule them: yet I will so much expose myself to both, as to confess I esteem them of great consequence and public utility to the constitution of our kingdom, either for the present or succeeding ages, which ought to be the care of laws

and public institutions ; and so I shall leave them for the next *Utopian* scheme, that shall be drawn by as good a man and as great wit as the last was left us.

The first is, that no man should hold or enjoy at a time more than one civil office or military command in the kingdom : which is grounded upon this principle, that, as the life of all laws is the due execution of them, so the life and perfection of all governments is the due administration ; and that, by the different degrees of this, the several forms of the other are either raised or debased more than by any difference in their original institutions : so that perhaps it may pass among so many other maxims in the politic, *That those are the best governments which are best administered, and where all offices are supplied by persons chosen to them with just distinction of merit, and capacity for discharging them, and of application to do it honestly and sufficiently.* That which seems, in my age, to have in a great measure deprived our government of this advantage, has not been only the partiality of Princes and Ministers in the choice of persons employed or their negligence and want of distinction, upon which it is usually laid ; but also the common ambition or avarice of those who are chosen. For few of them, when they are gotten into an office, apply their thoughts to the execution of it, but are presently diverted by the designs of getting another, and a third ; and very often he, that has three, is as unquiet and discontented, and thereby grows as troublesome a pretender, as when he had none at all. Whereas, if every man was sure to have but one at a time, he would, by his application and sufficiency in that, endeavour to deserve a greater in some kind, for which that might fit him, and help to promote him.

One objection may be made against such a law, and but one alone that I know of, besides those of particular

cular interest; which is, that many offices in State are of so small revenue as not to furnish a man with what is sufficient for the support of his life, or discharge of his place. But the degrees of what is called sufficient or necessary are very many, and differ according to the humour and conceptions of several men; and there is no office so small, that some or other will not be content to execute, for the profit, the credit, or perhaps for the business or amusement, which some are as needy of as they are of the other two. Besides, if offices were single, there would be more persons employed in a state, and thereby the fewer left of that restless temper, which raises those private discontents, that under the mask of public good, of reforming abuses, or redressing grievances (to which perhaps the nature of all government is incident) raise factions that ripen into the greatest disturbances and revolutions.

The second of these three imaginary constitutions is raised by the speculation, how much the number of inhabitants falls below what the extent of our territory, and fertility of our soil, makes it capable of entertaining and supporting with all necessaries and conveniences of life. Our people have not only been drained by many civil or foreign wars, and one furious devouring pestilence, within these fifty years, but by great numbers of *English* resorting into *Ireland* upon the desolations arrived there. Yet these are transitory taxes upon the bodies of men, as the expences of war are upon their estates; arrive casually, and continue but for certain periods. There are others perpetual, and which are, like constant rents, paid every year out of the stock of people in this kingdom; such as are drained off by furnishing the colonies of so many plantations in the *West-Indies*, and so great navigations into the *East*, as well as the *South*; which climates are very dangerous and fatal to tempers born and bred in

one so different as ours. Besides, the vast trade by sea we drive into all parts of the world, by the inclemency of seasons, the inconstancy and rage of that element, with the ventrous humour of our mariners, costs this island many brave lives every year, which, if they staid at home, might serve the present age, and go far to supply the next. The only way of recovering such losses is by the invitation of foreigners, and the increase of natives among us.

The first is to be made by the easiness of naturalization, and of freedom in our corporations, by allowing such liberty in different professions of religion, as cannot be dangerous to the government. By a registry of lands, which may furnish easy securities for money, that shall be brought over by strangers; but chiefly by the wisdom, steadiness, and safety of our government, which makes the great resort of men, who live under arbitrary laws and taxes, or in countries subject to sudden and frequent invasions of ambitious and powerful neighbours.

For the increase of our natives, it seems as reasonable a case among us, as it has been in so many other constitutions of laws, especially the ancient *Jews* and *Romans*, who were the most populous of any other nations, upon such extent of territory as they possessed in *Syria* and *Italy*.

This care is reduced into those two points, upon which all laws seem to turn, reward and punishment: the first is provided by privileges granted to a certain number of children, and by maintenance allotted out of the public, to such as too much burden poor families: for these, public work-houses in each county would be a certain provision, which might furnish work for all that want, as well as force it upon idle or criminal persons, and thereby infinitely increase the stock and riches of the nation, which arises more out of the labour of men, than the growth of the soil.

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The other hinge of punishment might turn upon a law, whereby all men who did not marry, by the age of five and twenty, should pay the third part of their revenue to some public uses, such as the building of ships and public work-houses, and raising a stock for maintaining them. This seems more necessary in our age, from the late humour (introduced by licentiousness) of so many men's marrying late or never, and would not only increase the people, but also turn the vein of that we call natural to that of legal propagation, which has ever been encouraged and honoured, as the other has been disfavoured by all institutions of government.

The next of my visions, upon this public theme, concerns the improving our races of Nobility and Gentry, as t'other does increasing the number of our people in general. I will not say they are much impaired within these forty or fifty years, though I have heard others lament it, by their observation of many successive Parliaments, wherein they have served; but no man I suppose will doubt they are capable of being improved, or think that care might not as well be taken for men by public institutions, as it is for the races of other creatures by private endeavours. The weakness of children, both in their bodies and minds, proceeds not only from such constitutions or qualities in the parents, but also from the ill consequences upon generation, by marriages contracted without affection, choice, or inclination; (which is allowed by naturalists upon reason as well as experience) these contracts would never be made, but by men's avarice, and greediness of portions with the women they marry, which is grown among us to that degree, as to surmount and extinguish all other regards or desires; so that our marriages are made, just like other common bargains and sales, by the meer consideration of interest or gain, without any of love or esteem, of birth

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or of beauty itself, which ought to be the true ingredients of all happy compositions of this kind, and of all generous productions. Yet this custom is of no ancient date in *England*, and I think I remember, within less than fifty years, the first noble families that married into the city for downright money, and thereby introduced by degrees this public grievance, which has since ruined so many estates by the necessity of giving great portions to daughters; impaired many families by the weak or mean productions of marriage, made without any of that warmth and spirit that is given them, by force of inclination and personal choice; and extinguished many great ones by the aversion of the persons who should have continued them. I know no remedy for this evil under our sun, but a law that providing that no woman of what quality soever shall have the value of above two thousand pounds for her portion in marriage, unless she be an heiress; and that no such, above the value of two hundred pounds a-year, shall marry to any but younger brothers.

To this, men's general hopes of making their fortunes by wives would be turned to other courses, and endeavours more useful to the public: young women would not be exposed, by the want of fortunes, and despair of marrying without them: noble families would not be exhausted by competition with those of meaner allay, in the point of portions; marriages would be made upon more natural motives, and more generous considerations, than mere dirty interest, and increase of riches, without measure or end. Shape and beauty, birth and education, wit and understanding, gentle nature and agreeable humour, honour and virtue, would come in for their share in such contracts, as must always have so great an influence upon all men's lives, and their posterity too. Besides, some little damps would be given to that pestilent humour and general mistake of placing all felicity in the endless degrees

grees of riches, which beyond a certain proportion suited to each rank, neither conduce to health nor pleasure, to ease nor convenience. The love of money is the root of all evil; which is a truth that both morals and politics, philosophy and divinity, reason and experience, all agree in; and which makes the common disquiets of private life, and the disturbances of public governments.

——— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!*

I have not heard any part of our ancient constitutions so much complained of, as the judicature of the house of Lords, as it is of late and usually exercised; which, if carried on a little farther, and taken notice of by the house of commons, as much as it seems to be resented by many of their members, may, for aught I know, at one time or other, occasion a breach between the two houses: an accident that would be, at all times, pernicious, but might, in some conjunctures, prove fatal to the public affairs and interests of the kingdom.

I will not enter upon the question, whether this judicature has been as ancient as the Conqueror's time; or whether it has been exercised in civil causes only since the end of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign; both which I have known asserted by intelligent persons. But, let the antiquity be what it will, and the complaints against it never so just, I do not see how the course or abuses of it can be changed or remedied, but by the house of Peers. And for this reason, as well as many others, it would be wise and generous, by some rules of their own, to give some redress to the complaints which are made upon this occasion. Whether this may be done by restriction of cases that shall be admitted to come before them, as to number or quality;

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or by giving consideration to the opinion of judges, or weight to their voices; I leave to those who better know the constitutions and forms of that house than I do. But this must be allowed, that, till the end of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, the Peerage of *England* was very different from what it has been since, or is at present, by the number and quality of the Peers; and, for that reason, by the credit they had in the kingdom. For, besides that they were anciently few, and of very noble families, they were generally possessed of great estates, which rendered them less subject to corruption: and men were better content to have their rights and possessions determined by persons who had great ones of their own to lose, and which they were in danger of by the ill administration of their offices.

Now, besides the points of right or antiquity, and some others a little controverted between the Lords and commons, the vulgar complaints against the present exercise of this judicature are; first, the number of the Peers being very great, in proportion to what it formerly was; then, the youth of so many Peers as sit in judgment, upon the weightiest causes, wherein knowledge and experience seem necessary to judge; and the last, that so many in that house have very small, and some perhaps no estate of land in *England*, contrary to the original institution.

The two first of these complaints might be remedied, if the Lords should please to make it an order of their house, that no person should have a voice in the judgment of any cause, before he were thirty years of age. The last cannot be remedied otherwise than by course of time, and a fixed resolution in the Crown to create no Baron who shall not, at the same time, entail four thousand pounds a-year, upon that honour whilst it continues in his family; a Viscount, five; an Earl, six; a Marquis, seven; and a Duke, eight. By this the respect and honour of the Peerage of *England* would

would be in some measure restored, not only in points that concern their judicature, but in that interest and influence among the people, by which they have often been so great a support to the Crown in the reigns of wise and good Kings, and to the liberties of the people in the unfortunate times of weak Princes, or evil and ambitious ministers.

These speculations, how imaginary soever, are at least grounded upon the true, general, and perpetual interest of the nation, without any regards of parties and factions, of the necessities of particular times or occasions of government. And such constant interests of *England* there are, which last through all successions of Kings, or revolutions of state. Of this kind, and the most general as well as most necessary, are, the greatness of our naval forces; the ballance of our neighbouring powers; and our own union, by the extinction of factions among us. For our nation is too great, and too brave to be ruined by any but itself: and, if the number and weight of it roll one way, upon the greatest changes that can happen, yet *England* will still be safe; which is the end of all public institutions, as it was of the *Roman* laws; *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. To this all differing opinions, passions, and interests should strike sail, and, like proud swelling streams, though running different courses, should yet all make haste into the sea of common safety, from whence their springs are said to be derived; and which would otherwise overflow and lay waste the countries where they pass. Without this pretence at least, no faction would ever swell so high as to endanger a state; for all of them gain their power and number to their party, by pretending to be derived from regards of common safety, and of tending towards it in the surest or directest course.

The comparison between a state and a ship has been so illustrated by poets and orators, that 'tis hard to find

any point wherein they differ; and yet they seem to do it in this, that, in great storms and rough seas, if all the men and lading roll to one side, the ship will be in danger of oversetting by their weight: but, on the contrary, in the storms of state, if the body of the people, with the bulk of estates, roll on one way, the nation will be safe. For the rest, the similitude holds, and happens alike to the one and to the other. When a ship goes to sea, bound to a certain port, with a great cargo, and a numerous crew who have a share in the lading as well as safety of the vessel; let the weather and the gale be never so fair, yet, if, in the course she steers, the ship's crew apprehend they see a breach of waters, which they are sure must come from rocks or sands that will endanger the ship unless the pilot changes his course: if the Captain, the Master, the Pilot, with some other of the officers, tell them they are fools or ignorant, and not fit to advise; that there is no danger, and it belongs to themselves to steer what course they please, or judge to be safe; and that the business of the crew is only to obey: if however the crew persist in their apprehensions of the danger, and the officers of the ship in the pursuit of their course, till the seamen will neither stand to their tackle, hand sails, or suffer the pilot to steer as he pleases; what can become of this ship, but that either the crew must be convinced by the Captain and officers, of their skill and care, and safety of their course; or these must comply with the common apprehensions and humours of the seamen; or else they must come at last to fall together by the ears, and so throw one another over-board, and leave the ship in the direction of the strongest, and perhaps to perish, in case of hard weather, for want of hands?

Just so in a state, divisions of opinion, though upon points of common interest or safety, yet, if pursued to the height, and with heat or obstinacy enough on both

both sides, must end in blows and civil arms, and, by their success, leave all in the power of the strongest, rather than the wisest or the best intentions; or perhaps expose it to the last calamity of a foreign conquest. But nothing, besides the uniting of parties upon one common bottom, can save a state in a tempestuous season; and every one, both of the officers and crew, are equally concerned in the safety of the ship, as in their own, since, in that alone, theirs are certainly involved.

And thus I have done with these idle politic visions, and, at the same time, with all public thoughts as well as employments: very sorry that the speculations of my mind, or actions of my life, have been of no greater service to my country, which no man, I am sure, has loved better, or esteemed more; though my own temper, and the distempers of our nation, prevailed with me to leave their service sooner than perhaps was either necessary for me, or common with other men. But my age now, as well as my temper and long fixed resolutions, has made me unfit for any farther flights; which I leave to younger and abler persons; wishing them the same intentions and greater successes, and conjunctures more favourable to such public and generous thoughts and designs.

O F
H E A L T H
A N D
L O N G L I F E.

I Can truly say, that, of all the paper I have blotted, which has been a great deal in my time, I have never written any thing for the public without the intention of some public good. Whether I have succeeded, or no, is not my part to judge; and others, in what they tell me, may deceive either me or themselves. Good intentions are at least the seed of good actions; and every man ought to sow them, and leave it to the soil and the seasons whether they come up or no, and whether he or any other gather the fruit.

I have chosen those subjects of these essays, wherein I take human life to be most concerned, and which are of most common use, or most necessary knowledge; and wherein, though I may not be able to inform men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the occasion to consider more than they do.

This

This is a sort of instruction that no man can dislike, since it comes from himself, and is made without envy or fear, constraint or obligation, which make us commonly dislike what is taught us by others. All men would be glad to be their own masters, and should not be sorry to be their own scholars, when they pay no more for their learning than their own thoughts, which they have commonly more store of about them than they know what to do with, and which, if they do not apply to something of good use, nor employ about something of ill, they will trifle away upon something vain or impertinent: their thoughts will be but waking dreams, as their dreams are sleeping thoughts. Yet, of all sorts of instructions, the best is gained from our own thoughts as well as experience: for, though a man may grow learned by other men's thoughts, yet he will grow wise or happy only by his own; the use of other men's towards these ends is but to serve for one's own reflexions; otherwise they are but like meat swallowed down for pleasure or greediness, which only charges the stomach, or fumes into the brain, if it be not well digested, and thereby turned into the very mass or substance of the body that receives it.

Some writers, in casting up the goods most desirable in life, have given them this rank, health, beauty, and riches. Of the first I find no dispute, but to the two others much may be said: for beauty is a good that makes others happy rather than one's self; and, how riches should claim so high a rank, I cannot tell, when so great, so wise, and so good a part of mankind have in all ages preferred poverty before them. The *Therapeutæ* and *Ebionites* among the *Jews*, the primitive monks and modern friars among *Christians*, so many *Dervises* among the *Mahometans*, the *Brachmans* among the *Indians*, and all the ancient philosophers; who, whatever else they differed in, agreed in this of despising riches, and at best esteeming them

an unnecessary trouble or incumbrance of life: so that whether they are to be reckoned among goods or evils is yet left in doubt.

When I was young and in some idle company, it was proposed that every one should tell what their three wishes should be, if they were sure to be granted; some were very pleasant, and some very extravagant; mine were health, and peace, and fair weather; which, though out of the way among young men, yet perhaps might pass well enough among old: they are all of a strain, for health in the body is like peace in the State and serenity in the air: the sun, in our climate at least, has something so reviving, that a fair day is a kind of a sensual pleasure, and, of all others, the most innocent.

Peace is a public blessing, without which no man is safe in his fortunes, his liberty, or his life: neither innocence or laws are a guard or defence; no possessions are enjoyed but in danger or fear, which equally lose the pleasure and ease of all that fortune can give us. Health is the soul that animates all enjoyments of life, which fade and are tasteless, if not dead, without it: a man starves at the best and the greatest tables, makes faces at the noblest and most delicate wines, is old and impotent in *Seraglios* of the most sparkling beauties, poor and wretched in the midst of the greatest treasures and fortunes: with common diseases strength grows decrepit, youth loses all vigour, and beauty all charms; music grows harsh, and conversation disagreeable; palaces are prisons, or of equal confinement; riches are useless, honour and attendance are cumbersome, and crowns themselves are a burden: but, if diseases are painful and violent, they equal all conditions of life, make no difference between a Prince and a beggar; and a fit of the stone or the colic puts a King to the rack, and makes him as miserable as he can do the meanest, the worst, and most criminal of his subjects.

To

To know that the passions or distempers of the mind make our lives unhappy, in spite of all accidents and favours of fortune, a man perhaps must be a philosopher; and requires much thought, and study, and deep reflexions. To be a *Stoic*, and grow insensible of pain, as well as poverty or disgrace, one must be perhaps something more or less than a man, renounce common nature, oppose common truth and constant experience. But there needs little learning or study, more than common thought and observation, to find out, that ill health loses not only the enjoyments of fortune, but the pleasures of sense, and even of imagination, and hinders the common operations both of body and mind from being easy and free. Let philosophers reason and differ about the chief good or happiness of man; let them find it where they can, and place it where they please; but there is no mistake so gross, or opinion so impertinent (how common soever) as to think pleasures arise from what is without us, rather than from what is within; from the impression given us of objects, rather than from the disposition of the organs that receive them. The various effects of the same objects upon different persons, or upon the same persons at different times, make the contrary most evident. Some distempers make things look yellow, others double what we see; the commonest alter our tastes and our smells, and the very foulness of ears changes sounds. The difference of tempers, as well as of age, may have the same effect, by the many degrees of perfection or imperfection in our original tempers, as well as of strength or decay, from the differences of health and of years. From all which 'tis easy, without being a great naturalist, to conclude, that our perceptions are formed, and our imaginations raised upon them, in a very great measure, by the dispositions of the organs through which the several objects make their impressions; and that these vary according to the
different

different frame and temper of the others; as the sound of the same breath passing through an oaten pipe, a flute, or a trumpet.

But to leave philosophy, and return to health. Whatever is true in point of happiness depending upon the temper of the mind, 'tis certain that pleasures depend upon the temper of the body; and that, to enjoy them, a man must be well himself, as the vessel must be found to have your wine sweet; for otherwise, let it be never so pleasant and so generous, it loses the taste; and pour in never so much, it all turns sour, and were better let alone. Whoever will eat well, must have a stomach; who will relish the pleasure of drinks, must have his mouth in taste; who will enjoy a beautiful woman, must be in vigour himself; nay, to find any felicity, or take any pleasure in the greatest advantages of honour and fortune, a man must be in health. Who would not be covetous, and with reason, if this could be purchased with gold? who not ambitious, if it were at the command of power, or restored by honour? But alas! a *white staff* will not help gouty feet to walk better than a common cane; nor a *blue ribband* bind up a wound so well as a fillet: the glitter of gold or of diamonds will but hurt sore eyes, instead of curing them; and an aking head will be no more eased by wearing a crown than a common night-cap.

If health be such a blessing, and the very source of all pleasure, it may be worth the pains to discover the regions where it grows, the springs that feed it, the customs and methods by which it is best cultivated and preserved. Towards this end, it will be necessary to consider the examples or instances we meet with of health and long life; which is the consequence of it; and to observe the places, the customs, and the conditions of those who enjoyed them in any degree extraordinary;

ordinary; from whence we may best guess at the causes, and make the truest conclusions.

Of what passed before the flood, we know little from Scripture itself, besides the length of their lives; so as I shall only observe upon that period of time, that men are thought neither to have eat flesh nor drunk wine before it ended: for to *Noah* first seems to have been given the liberty of feeding upon living creatures, and the prerogative of planting the vine. Since that time we meet with little mention of very long lives in any stories either sacred or prophane, besides the *Patriarchs* of the *Hebrews*, the *Brachmans* among the old *Indians*, and the *Brazilians* at the time that country was discovered by the *Europeans*. Many of these were said then to have lived two hundred, some three hundred years. The same terms of life are attributed to the old *Brachmans*; and how long those of the *Patriarchs* were is recorded in Scripture. Upon all these I shall observe, that the *Patriarchs* abodes were not in cities, but in open countries and fields: that their lives were pastoral, or employed in some sorts of agriculture: that they were of the same race, to which their marriages were generally confined: that their diet was simple, as that of the ancients is generally represented, among whom flesh or wine was seldom used but at sacrifices or solemn feasts. The *Brachmans* were all of the same races, lived in fields and in woods after the course of their studies were ended, and fed only upon rice, milk, or herbs. The *Brazilians*, when first discovered, lived the most natural original lives of mankind, so frequently described in ancient countries, before laws, or property, or arts made entrance among them; and so their customs may be concluded to have been yet more simple than either of the other two. They lived without business or labour, further than for their necessary food, by gathering fruits, herbs, and plants: they knew no

drink but water ; were not tempted to eat nor drink beyond common thirst or appetite ; were not troubled with either public or domestic cares, nor knew any pleasures but the most simple and natural.

From all these examples and customs it may probably be concluded, that the common ingredients of health and long life (where births are not impaired from the conception by any derived infirmities of the race they come from) are great temperance, open air, easy labour, little care, simplicity of diet, rather fruits and plants than flesh, which easier corrupts ; and water, which preserves the radical moisture, without too much increasing the radical heat : whereas sickness, decay, and death, proceed commonly from the one preying too fast upon the other, and at length wholly extinguishing it.

I have sometimes wondered, that the regions of so much health and so long lives were all under very hot climates ; whereas the more temperate are allowed to produce the strongest and most vigorous bodies. But weaker constitutions may last as long as the strong, if better preserved from accidents ; so *Venice* glass, as long as an earthen pitcher, if carefully kept ; and, for one life that ends by meer decay of nature or age, millions are intercepted by accidents from without or diseases within ; by untimely deaths or decays ; from the effects of excess and luxury, immoderate repletion or exercise ; the preying of our minds upon our bodies by long passions or consuming cares, as well as those accidents which are called violent. Men are perhaps most betrayed to all these dangers by great strength and vigour of constitution, by more appetite and larger fare in colder climates : in the warm, excesses are found more pernicious to health, and so more avoided ; and, if experience and reflexion do not cause temperance among them, yet it is forced upon them by the faintness of appetite. I can find no
better

better account of a story Sir *Francis Bacon* tells, of a very old man, whose customs and diet he inquired; but he said he observed none besides eating before he was hungry and drinking before he was dry; for by that rule he was sure never to eat nor drink much at a time. Besides, the warmth of air keeps the pores open, and by continual perspiration breathes out those humours which breed most diseases, if in cooler climates it be not helped by exercise. And this I take to be the reason of our *English* constitutions finding so much benefit by the air of *Montpelier*, especially in long colds or consumptions, or rather lingering diseases; though I have known some who attributed the restoring of their health there as much to the fruits as the air of that place.

I know not whether there may be any thing in the climate of *Brazil* more propitious to health than in other countries: for, besides what was observed among the natives upon the first *European* discoveries, I remember Don *Francisco de Melo*, a *Portugal* Ambassador in *England*, told me, it was frequent in his country for men spent with age or other decays, so as they could not hope for above a year or two of life, to ship themselves away in a *Brazil* fleet, and after their arrival there to go on a great length, sometime of twenty or thirty years, or more, by the force of that vigour they recovered with that remove. Whether such an effect might grow from the air, or the fruits of that climate, or by approaching nearer the sun, which is the fountain of life and heat, when their natural heat was so far decayed; or whether the piecing out of an old man's life were worth the pains, I cannot tell: perhaps the play is not worth the candle.

I do not remember, either in story or modern observation, any examples of long life common to any parts of *Europe*, which the temper of the climate has probably made the scene of luxury and excesses in diet.

Greece

Greece and *Rome* were of old celebrated, or rather defamed, for those customs, when they were not known in *Asia* nor *Afric*; and how guilty our colder climates are in this point, beyond the warmer of *Spain* and *Italy*, is but too well known. It is common among *Spaniards* of the best quality, not to have tasted pure wine at forty years old. 'Tis an honour to their laws, that a man loses his testimony who can be proved once to have been drunk; and I never was more pleased with any reply, than that of a *Spaniard*, who, having been asked whether he had a good dinner at a friend's house, said, *Si sennor a via sabrado*; yes, Sir, for there was something left. The great trade in *Italy*, and resort of strangers, especially of *Germans*, has made the use of wine something more frequent there, though not much among the persons of rank, who are observed to live longer at *Rome* and *Madrid*, than in any other towns of *Europe*, where the qualities of the air force them upon the greatest temperance, as well as care and precaution. We read of many Kings very long-lived in *Spain*, one I remember that reigned above seventy years. But *Philip de Comines* observes, that none in *France* had lived to threescore, from *Charlemain's* time to that of *Lewis XI.* whereas in *England*, from the conquest to the end of *Queen Elizabeth* (which is a much shorter period of time) there have reigned five Kings and one Queen, whereof two lived sixty-five years, two sixty-eight, and two reached at least the seventieth year of their age. I wondered upon this subject when *Monfieur Pomponne*, French Ambassador in my time at the *Hague*, a person of great worth and learning, as well as observation, told me there, that in his life he had never heard of any man in *France* that arrived at a hundred years; and I could imagine no reason for it, unless it be that the excellence of their climate, subject neither to much cold nor heat, gave them such a liveliness of temper and humour,

humour, as disposed them to more pleasures of all kinds than in any other countries. And, I doubt, pleasures too long continued, or rather too frequently repeated, may spend the spirits, and thereby life too fast, to leave it very long; like blowing a fire too often, which makes it indeed burn the better, but last the less. For as pleasures perish themselves in the using; like flowers that fade with gathering: so 'tis neither natural nor safe to continue them long, to renew them without appetite, or ever to provoke them by arts or imagination where nature does not call; who can best tell us when and how much we need or what is good for us, if we were so wise as to consult her. But a short life and a merry carries it, and is without doubt better than a long with sorrow or pain.

For the honour of our climate it has been observed by ancient authors, that the *Britons* were longer-lived than any other nation to them known. And in modern times there have been more and greater examples of this kind than in any other countries of *Europe*. The story of old *Parr* is too late to be forgotten by many now alive, who was brought out of *Derbyshire* to the Court in King *Charles I's* time, and lived to a hundred and fifty-three years old; and might have, as was thought, gone further, if the change of country air and diet for that of the town had not carried him off, perhaps untimely at that very age. The late *Robert Earl of Leicester*, who was a person of great learning and observation, as well as of truth, told me several stories very extraordinary upon this subject; one, of a Countess of *Desmond*, married out of *England* in *Edward IV's* time, and who lived far in King *James's* reign, and was counted to have died some years above a hundred and forty; at which age she came from *Bristol* to *London* to beg some relief at Court, having long been very poor by the ruin of that *Irish* family into which she was married.

Another

Another he told me was of a beggar at a book-feller's shop, where he was some weeks after the death of Prince *Henry*; and observing those that passed by, he was saying to his company, that never such a mourning had been seen in *England*: this beggar said, no, never since the death of Prince *Arthur*. My Lord *Leicester*, surpris'd, asked what she meant, and whether she remembered it: she said, very well: and upon his more curious inquiry told him that her name was *Rainsford*, of a good family in *Oxfordshire*: that, when she was about twenty years old, upon the falseness of a lover, she fell distracted; how long she had been so, nor what passed in that time, she knew not; that, when she was thought well enough to go abroad, she was fain to beg for her living: that she was some time at this trade before she recovered any memory of what she had been, or where bred: that, when this memory returned, she went down into her country, but hardly found the memory of any of her friends she had left there; and so returned to a parish in *Southwark*, where she had some small allowance among other poor, and had been for many years; and once a week walked into the city, and took what alms were given her. My Lord *Leicester* told me, he sent to inquire at the parish, and found their account agree with the woman's: upon which he ordered her to call at his house once a week, which she did for some time; after which he heard no more of her. This story rais'd some discourse upon a remark of some in the company, that mad people are apt to live long. They alledged examples of their own knowledge: but the result was, that, if it were true, it must proceed from the natural vigour of their tempers, which dispos'd them to passions so violent, as ended in frenzies: and from the great abstinence and hardships of diet they are forced upon by the methods of their cure, and severity of those who had them

them in care; no other drink but water being allowed them, and very little meat.

The last story I shall mention from that noble person, upon this subject, was of a morrice-dance in *Herefordshire*; whereof, he said, he had a pamphlet still in his library, written by a very ingenious Gentleman of that county: and which gave an account how such a year of King *James's* reign, there went about the country a set of morrice-dancers, composed of ten men who danced, a maid *Marian*, and a tabor and pipe: and how these twelve, one with another, made up twelve hundred years. 'Tis not so much, that so many, in one small county, should live to, that age, as that they should be in vigour and in humour to travel and to dance.

I have, in my life, met with two of above a hundred and twelve; whereof the woman had passed her life in service; and the man, in common labour, till he grew old; and fell upon the parish. But I met with one who had gone a much greater length, which made me more curious in my inquiries. 'Twas an old man who begged usually at a lonely inn upon the road in *Staffordshire*; who told me, he was a hundred twenty four years old: that he had been a foldier in the *Cales* voyage, under the Earl of *Essex*, of which he gave me a sensible account. That, after his return, he fell to labour in his own parish, which was about a mile from the place where I met him. That he continued to work till a hundred and twelve, when he broke one of his ribs, by a fall from a cart, and, being thereby disabled, he fell to beg. This, agreeing with what the master of the house told me, was reported and believed by all his neighbours, I asked him what his usual food was; he said, milk, bread, and cheese, and flesh when it was given him. I asked him what he used to drink; he said, O Sir, we have the best water in our parish that is in all the neighbourhood: whether

ther he never drank any thing else? he said, yes, if any body have it him, but not otherwise: and the host told me, he had got many a pound in his house, but never spent one penny. I asked if he had any neighbours as old as he; and he told me, but one, who had been his fellow soldier at *Cales*, and was three years older; but he had been most of his time in a good service, and had something to live on now he was old.

I have heard, and very credibly, of many in my life, above an hundred years old, brought as witnesses upon trials of titles, and bounds of land: but I have observed most of them have been of *Derbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, or *Yorkshire*, and none above the rank of common farmers. The oldest I ever knew any persons of quality, or indeed any Gentleman either at home or abroad, was fourscore and twelve. This added to all the former recites or observations, either of long-lived races or persons in any age or country, makes it easy to conclude, that health and long life are usually blessings of the poor, not of the rich, and the fruits of temperance, rather than of luxury and excess. And, indeed, if a rich man does not, in many things, live like a poor, he will certainly be the worse for his riches: if he does not use exercise, which is but voluntary labour; if he does not restrain appetite by choice, as the other does by necessity. If he does not practise sometimes even abstinence and fasting, which is the last extreme of want and poverty: if his cares and his troubles increase with his riches, or his passions with his pleasures; he will certainly impair in health, whilst he improves his fortunes, and lose more than he gains by the bargain; since health is the best of all human possessions, and without which the rest are not relished or kindly enjoyed.

It is observable in story, that the ancient philosophers lived generally very long; which may be attributed to their great temperance, and their freedom from
common

common passions, as well as cares, of the world. But the friers, in many orders, seem to equal them in all these, and yet are not observed to live long; so as some other reason may be assigned: I can give none, unless it be the great and constant confinement of the last, and liberty of the others: I mean not only that of their persons to their cloisters (which is not universal among them), but their condition of life, so tied to rules, and so absolutely subject to their superiors commands, besides, the very confinement of their minds and thoughts to a certain compass of notions, speculations and opinions. The philosophers took the greatest liberty that could be; and allowed their thoughts, their studies and inventions, the most unconfined range over the whole universe. They both began and continued their profession and condition of life at their own choice, as well as their abodes: whereas among the friers, though they may be voluntary at first, yet, after their vows made, they grow necessary, and thereby constrained. Now 'tis certain, that as nothing damps or depresses the spirits like great subjection or slavery, either of body or mind; so nothing nourishes, revives, and fortifies them like great liberty. Which may possibly enter among other reasons, of what has been observed about long life being found more in *England*, than in others of our neighbour countries.

Upon the general and particular surveys already made, it may seem that the mountainous or barren countries are usually the scenes of health and long life: that they have been found rather in the hills of *Palesine* and *Arcadia*, than in the plains of *Babylon* or of *Thessaly*: and among us in *England*, rather upon the peak of *Derbyshire*, and the heaths of *Staffordshire*, than the fertile soils of other counties, that abound more in people and in riches. Whether this proceeds from the air being clearer of gross and damp exhalations, or from the meaner condition, and thereby

harder fare, and more simple diet ; or from the stronger nourishment of those grains and roots which grow in dry soils ; I will not determine : but think it is evident, from common experience, that the natives and inhabitants of hilly and barren countries have not only more health in general, but also more vigour, than those of the plains, or fertile soils ; and usually exceed them even in size and stature. So the largest bodies of men, that are found in these parts of *Europe*, are the *Switzers*, the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, and the northern *Irish*. I remember king *Charles*, the Second, (a prince of much and various knowledge, and curious observation) upon this subject, falling in discourse, asked me, what could be the reason, that in mountainous countries the men were commonly larger, and yet the cattle of all sorts smaller, than in others. I could think of none, unless it were, that, appetite being more in both, from the air of such places, it happened, that, by the care of parents, in the education of children, these seldom wanted food of some sort or other, enough to supply nature, and satisfy appetite, during the age of their growth, which must be the greater, by the sharpness of hunger, and strength of digestion in drier airs : for milk, roots, and oats, abound in such countries, though there may be scarcity of other food or grain. But the cattle, from the shortness of pasture and of fodder, have hardly enough to feed in summer ; and very often want, in winter, even necessary food for sustenance of life ; many are starved, and the rest stunted in their growth, which, after a certain age, never advances. Whether this be a good reason, or a better may be found, I believe one part of it will not be contested by any man that tries ; which is, that the open dry air of hilly countries gives more stomach than that of plains and vallies, in which cities are commonly built, for the convenience of water, of trade, and the plenty of fruits and grains produced by the earth, with much greater

greater increase and less labour, in softer than in harder grounds. The faintness of appetite in such places, especially in great cities, makes the many endeavours to relieve and provoke it by art, where nature fails: and this is one great ground of luxury, and so many, and various, and extravagant inventions to heighten and improve it: which may serve perhaps for some refinement in pleasure; but not at all for any advantages of health or of life: on the contrary, all the great cities, celebrated most, by the concurrence of mankind, and by the inventions and customs of the greatest and most delicate luxury, are the scenes of the most frequent and violent plagues, as well as other diseases. Such are, in our age, *Grand-Cairo*, *Constantinople*, *Naples*, and *Rome*; though the exact and constant care, in this last, helps them commonly to escape better than the others.

This introduces the use, and indeed the necessity, of physic, in great towns and very populous countries; which remoter and more barren or desolate places are scarce acquainted with. For, in the course of common life, a man must either often exercise, or fast, or take physic, or be sick; and the choice seems left to every one as he likes. The two first are the best methods and means of preserving health: the use of physic is for restoring it, and curing those diseases which are generally caused by the want or neglect of the others; but is neither necessary, nor perhaps useful, for confirming health, or to the length of life, being generally a force upon nature; though the end of it seems to be rather assisting nature, than opposing it in its course.

How ancient, how general the study or profession of this science has been in the world, and how various the practice, may be worth a little inquiry and observation, since it so nearly concerns our healths and lives. *Greece* must be allowed to have been the mother of this,

as much or more than of other sciences, most whereof are transplanted thither from more ancient and more eastern nations. But this seems to have first risen there, and with good reason : for *Greece* having been the first scene of luxury we meet with in story, and having thereby occasioned more diseases, seemed to owe the world that justice of providing the remedies. Among the more simple and original customs and lives of other nations it entered late, and was introduced by the *Grecians*. In ancient *Babylon*, how great and populous soever, no physicians were known, nor other methods for the cure of diseases, besides abstinence, patience, domestic care ; or, when these succeeded not, exposing the patient in the market, to receive the instruction of any persons that passed by, and pretended by experience or inquiries to have learned any remedies for such an illness. The *Persian* Emperors sent into *Greece* for the physicians they needed, upon some extremity at first, but afterwards kept them residing with them. In old *Rome* they were long unknown ; and, after having entered there, and continued for some time, they were all banished, and returned not in many years, till their fondness of all the *Grecian* arts and customs restored this, and introduced all the rest, among them ; where they continued in use and esteem, during the greatness of that empire. With the rise and progress of the fierce northern powers and arms, this, as well as all other learning, was in a manner extinguished in *Europe*. But, when the *Saracen* empire grew to such a height in the more eastern and southern parts of the world, all arts and sciences, following the traces of greatness and security in States or governments, began to flourish there, and this among the rest. The *Arabians* seem to have first retrieved and restored it in the *Mahometan* dominions ; and the *Jews* in *Europe*, who were long the chief professors of it in the *Gothic* kingdoms ; having been always

ways a nation very mercurial, of great genius and application to all sorts of learning after their dispersion; till they were discouraged by the persecutions of their religion, and their persons, among most of the Christian States. In the vast territories of *India* there are few physicians, or little esteemed, besides some *European*, or else of the race either of *Jews* or *Arabs*.

Through these hands and places, this science has passed with greatest honour and applause: among others, it has been less used or esteemed.

For the antiquity of it, and original in *Greece*, we must have recourse to *Æsculapius*, who lived in the age before the *Trojan* war, and whose son *Macaon* is mentioned to have assisted there; but, whether as a physician, or a surgeon, I do not find: how simple the beginnings of this art were may be observed by the story, or tradition, of *Æsculapius* going about the country with a dog and a she-goat always following; both which he used much in his cures; the first for licking all ulcerated wounds, and the goat's milk for diseases of the stomach and the lungs. We find little more recorded of either his methods or medicines; though he was so successful by his skill, or so admired for the novelty of his profession, as to have been honoured with statues, esteemed son of *Apollo*, and worshipped as a god.

Whoever was accounted the god of physic, the Prince of this science must be by all, I think, allowed to have been *Hippocrates*. He flourished in the time of the first renowned philosophers of *Greece*, (the chief of whom was *Democritus*) and his writings are the most ancient of any that remain to posterity: for those of *Democritus* and others of that age are all lost, though many were preserved till the time of *Antoninus Pius*, and perhaps something later: and 'tis probable were suppressed by the pious zeal of some Fathers, under the first Christian Emperor. Those of *Hippocrates* escaped
this

this fate of his age, by being esteemed so useful to human life, as well as the most excellent upon all subjects he treats. For he was a great philosopher and naturalist, before he began the study of physic, to which both those are perhaps necessary. His rules and methods continued in practice as well as esteem, without any dispute, for many ages, till the time of *Galen*: and I have heard a great physician say, that his aphorisms are still the most certain and uncontrolled of any that science has produced. I will judge but of one, which, in my opinion, has the greatest race and height both of sense and judgment that I have read in so few words, and the best expressed; *Ars longa, vita brevis, experientia fallax, occasio præceps, judicium difficile*. By which alone, if no more remained of that admirable person, we may easily judge how great a genius he was, and how perfectly he understood both nature and art.

In the time of *Adrian*, *Galen* began to change the practice and methods of physic, derived to that age from *Hippocrates*, and those of his new institution continue generally observed to our time. Yet *Paracelsus*, about two hundred years ago, endeavoured to overthrow the whole scheme of *Galen*, and introduce a new one of his own, as well as the use of chymical medicines; and has not wanted his followers and admirers ever since, who have, in some measure, compounded with the *Galenists*, and brought a mixed use of chymical medicines into the present practice.

Doctor *Harvey* gave the first credit, if not rise, to the opinion about the circulation of the blood, which was expected to bring in great and general innovations into the whole practice of physic; but has had no such effect. Whether the opinion has not had the luck to be so well believed as proved: sense and experience having not well agreed with reason and speculation

ulation : or, whether the scheme has not been pursued so far, as to draw it into practice : or, whether it be too fine to be capable of it, like some propositions in the mathematics; how true and demonstrative soever, I will not pretend to determine.

These great changes or revolutions in the physical empire have given ground to many attacks that have been made against it, upon the score of its uncertainty, by several wise and learned men, as well as by many ignorant and malicious. *Montaigne* has written a great deal, and very ingeniously, upon this point; and some sharp *Italians* : and many physicians are too free upon the subject, in the conversation of their friends. But as the noble *Athenian* inscription told *Demetrius*, that he was in so much a god, as he acknowledged himself to be a man : so we may say of physicians, that they are the greater, in so much as they know and confess the weakness of their art. 'Tis certain however, that the study of physic is not achieved in any eminent degree, without very great advancements in other sciences : so that whatever the profession is, the professors have been generally very much esteemed upon that account, as well as of their own art, as the most learned men of their ages ; and thereby shared with the two other great professions in those advantages most commonly valued, and most eagerly pursued ; whereof the divines seem to have had the most honour, the lawyers the most money, and the physicians the most learning. I have known, in my time, at least five or six, that, besides their general learning, were the greatest wits in the compass of my conversation. And whatever can be said of the uncertainty of their art, or disagreement of its professors ; they may, I believe, confidently undertake, that when divines arrive at certainty in their schemes of divinity ; or lawyers in those of law ; or politicians in those of civil government : the physicians will
do

do it likewise in the methods and practice of physick; and have the honour of finding out the universal medicine, at least as soon, as the chymists shall the philosopher's stone.

The great defects, in this excellent science, seem to me chiefly to have proceeded from the professors application (especially since *Galen's* time) running so much upon method, and so little upon medicine; and in this to have addicted themselves so much to composition, and neglected too much the use of simples, as well as the inquiries and records of specific remedies.

Upon this occasion, I have sometimes wondered why a registry has not been kept in the colleges of physicians, of all such as have been invented by any professors of every age, found out by study or by chance, learned by inquiry, and approved by their practice and experience. This would supply the want of skill and study: arts would be improved by the experience of many ages, and derived by the succession of ancestors. As many professions are tied to certain races in several nations, so this of physick has been in some; by which parents were induced to the cares of improving and augmenting their knowledge, as others do their estates; because they were to descend to their posterity, and not die with themselves, as learning does in vulgar hands. How many methods as well as remedies are lost, for want of this custom in the course of ages! and which perhaps were of greater effect and of more common benefit than those that, succeeding in their places, have worn out the memory of the former, either by chance or negligence, or different humours of persons and times.

Among the *Romans* there were four things much in use, whereof some are so far out of practice in ours, and other late ages, as to be hardly known any more than by their names; these were, *batbng*, *fumigati-*
on,

on, friction, and jactation. The first, though not wholly disused among us, yet is turned out of the service of health, to that of pleasure; but may be of excellent effect in both. It not only opens the pores, provokes sweat, and thereby allays heat; supple the joints and sinews; unwearies and refreshes more than any thing, after too great labour and exercise; but is of great effect in some acute pains, as of the stone and cholic; and disposes to sleep, when many other remedies fail. Nor is it improbable, that all good effects of any natural baths may be imitated by the artificial, if composed with care and skill of able naturalists or physicians.

Fumigation, or the use of scents, is not, that I know, at all practised in our modern physic, nor the power and virtues of them considered among us: yet they may have as much to do good, for aught I know, as to do harm, and contribute to health as well as to diseases; which is too much felt by experience in all that are infectious, and by the operations of some poisons that are received only by the smell. How reviving as well as pleasing some scents of herbs or flowers are, is obvious to all: how great virtues they may have in diseases, especially of the head, is known to few, but may be easily conjectured by any thinking man. What is recorded of *Democritus*, is worth remarking upon this subject: that being spent with age, and just at the point of death; and his sister bewailing that he should not live till the feast of *Ceres*, which was to be kept three or four days after; he called for loaves of new bread to be brought him, and with the steam of them under his nose prolonged his life till the feast was past, and then died. Whether a man may live some time, or how long, by the steam of meat, I cannot tell: but the justice was great, if not the truth, in that story of a cook, who observing a man to use it often in his shop, and, asking

money because he confessed to save his dinner by it, was adjudged to be paid by the chinking of his coin. I remember, that walking in a long gallery of the *Indian* house at *Amsterdam*, where vast quantities of mace, cloves, and nutmegs, were kept in great open chests ranged all along one side of the room, I found something so reviving by the perfumed air, that I took notice of it to the company with me, which was a great deal, and they all were sensible of the same effect. Which is enough to shew the power of smells and their operations both upon health and humour.

Friction is of great and excellent use, and of very general practice in the eastern countries, especially after their frequent bathings: it opens the pores, and is the best way of all forced perspiration; is very proper and effectual in all swellings and pains of the joints, or others in the flesh, which are not to be drawn to a head and break. 'Tis a saying among the *Indians*, that none can be much troubled with the gout who have slaves enough to rub them; and is the best natural account of some stories I have heard of persons who were said to cure several diseases by stroking.

Jactations were used for some amusement and allay in great and constant pains, and to relieve that in tranquillity which attends most diseases, and makes men often impatient of lying still in their beds. Besides, they help or occasion sleep, as we find by the common use and experience of rocking froward children in cradles, or dandling them in their nurses arms. I remember an old Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, who had been accustomed to hammocks in *Brazil*, and used them frequently all his life after, upon the pains he suffered by the stone or gout; and thought he found ease and was allured to sleep by the constant motion or swinging of those airy beds, which was assisted by

a servant, if they moved too little by the springs upon which they hung.

In *Egypt* of old, and at this time in *Barbary*, the general method of cures in most diseases is by burning with a hot iron; so as the bodies of their slaves are found often to have many scars upon them remaining of those operations. But this and other uses and effects of fire I have taken notice enough of, in an essay upon the *Indian* cure by *moxa* in the gout.

The ancient native *Irish*, and the *Americans* at the time of the first *European* discoveries and conquests there, knew nothing of physick beyond the virtues of herbs and plants. And in this the most polished nation agrees in a great measure with those that were esteemed most barbarous; and where the learning and voluptuousness are as great as were the native simplicity and ignorance of the others. For in *China*, tho' their physicians are admirable in the knowledge of the pulse, and by that, in discovering the causes of all inward diseases; yet their practice extends little further in the cures beyond the methods of diet, and the virtues of herbs and plants either inwardly taken or outwardly applied.

In the course of my life, I have often pleased or entertained my self with observing the various and fantastical changes of the diseases generally complained of, and of the remedies in common vogue, which were like birds of passage, very much seen or heard of at one season, and disappeared at another, and commonly succeeded by some of a very different kind. When I was very young, nothing was so much feared or talked of as rickets among children, and consumptions among young people of both sexes. After these the spleen came in play, and grew a formal disease: then the scurvy, which was the general complaint, and both were thought to appear in many various guises. After these, and for a time, nothing was so much talked of

of as the ferment of the blood, which passed for the cause of all sorts of ailments, that neither physicians nor patients knew well what to make of. And to all these succeeded vapours, which serve the same turn, and furnish occasion of complaint among persons whose bodies or minds ail something, but they know not what; and among the *Chineses* would pass for mists of the mind or fumes of the brain, rather than indispositions of any other parts. Yet these employ our physicians, perhaps more than other diseases, who are fain to humour such patients in their fancies of being ill, and to prescribe some remedies, for fear of losing their practice to others that pretend more skill in finding out the cause of diseases, or care in advising remedies, which neither they nor their patients find any effect of, besides some gains to one, and amusement to the other. This, I suppose, may have contributed much to the mode of going to the waters either cold or hot upon so many occasions, or else upon none besides that of entertainment, and which commonly may have no other effect. And 'tis well if this be the worst of the frequent use of those waters, which, though commonly innocent, yet are sometimes dangerous, if the temper of the person or cause of the indisposition be unhappily mistaken, especially in people of age.

As diseases have changed vogue, so have remedies in my time and observation. I remember at one time the taking of tobacco, at another the drinking of warm beer, proved for universal remedies; then swallowing of pebble-stones, in imitation of falconers curing hawks. One Doctor pretended to help all heats and fevers, by drinking as much cold spring water as the patient could bear; at another time, swallowing up a spoonful of powder of sea-bisket after meals was infallible for all indigestion, and so preventing diseases. Then coffee and tea began their successive reigns. The infusion of powder of steel have had their turns, and

and certain drops of several names and compositions: but none that I find have established their authority, either long or generally, by any constant and sensible successes of their reign, but have rather passed like a mode, which every one is apt to follow, and finds the most convenient or graceful while it lasts; and begins to dislike in both those respects when it goes out of fashion.

Thus men are apt to play with their healths and their lives, as they do with their cloaths; which may be the better excused, since both are so transitory, so subject to be spoiled with common use, to be torn by accidents, and at best to be so soon worn out. Yet the usual practice of physic among us runs still the same course, and turns, in a manner, wholly upon evacuation, either by bleeding, vomits, or some sorts of purgation; though it be not often agreed among physicians in what cases or what degrees any of these are necessary; nor among other men, whether any of them are necessary or no. *Montaigne* questions whether purging ever be so, and from many ingenious reasons: the *Chineses* never let blood; and, for the other, 'tis very probable that nature knows her own wants and times so well, and so easily finds her own relief that way, as to need little assistance, and not well to receive the common violences that are offered her. I remember three in my life and observation who were as downright killed with vomits as they could have been with daggers; and I can say for myself, upon an accident very near mortal, when I was young, that, sending for the two best physicians of the town, the first prescribed me a vomit, and immediately sent it me: I had the grace or sense to refuse it till the other came, who told me, if I had taken it, I could not have lived half an hour. I observed a consult of physicians, in a fever of one of my near friends, perplexed to the last degree whether to let him blood or no, and not able

to resolve, till the course of the disease had declared itself, and thereby determined them. Another of my friends was so often let blood, by his first physician, that a second, who was sent for, questioned whether he would recover it: the first persisted the blood must be drawn till some good appeared; the other affirmed, that, in such diseases, the whole mass was corrupted, but would purify again when the accident was past, like wine after a fermentation, which makes all in the vessel thick and foul for a season; but, when that is past, grows clear again of itself. So much is certain, that it depends a great deal upon the temper of the patient, the nature of the disease in its first causes, upon the skill and care of the physician to decide whether any of these violences upon nature are necessary or no, and whether they are like to do good or harm.

The rest of our common practice consists in various compositions of innocent ingredients, which feed the hopes of the patient, and the apothecary's gains, but leave nature to her course, who is the sovereign physician in most diseases, and leaves little for others to do, further than to watch accidents; where they know no specific remedies, to prescribe diets; and, above all, to prevent disorders from the stomach, and take care that nature be not employed in the kitchen, when she should be in the field to resist her enemy; and that she should not be weakened in her spirits and strength, when they are most necessary to support and relieve her. 'Tis true, physicians must be in danger of losing their credit with the vulgar, if they should often tell a patient he has no need of physic, and prescribe only rules of diet or common use; most people would think they had lost their fee: but the excellence of a physician's skill and care is discovered by resolving first whether it be best in the case to administer any physic or none, to trust to nature or to art; and the next, to give such prescriptions,

prescriptions, as, if they do no good, may be sure to do no harm.

In the midst of such uncertainties of health and of physic, for my own part, I have, in the general course of my life, and of many acute diseases, as well as some habitual, trusted to God Almighty, to nature, to temperance or abstinence, and the use of common remedies, either vulgarly known, and approved like proverbs by long observation and experience, either of my own, or such persons as have fallen in the way of my observation or inquiry.

Among the plants of our soil and climate, those I esteem of greatest virtue and most friendly to health, are *sage*, *rue*, *saffron*, *aleboof*, *garlic*, and *eldar*. *Sage* deserves not only the just reputation it has been always in, of a very wholesome herb, in common uses, and generally known, but is admirable in consumptive coughs, of which I have cured some very desperate, by a draught every morning of spring water, with a handful of *sage* boiled in it, and continued for a month. I do not question that, if it were used as tea, it would have at least in all kinds as good an effect upon health, if not of so much entertainment to the taste, being perhaps not so agreeable; and I had reason to believe when I was in *Holland*, that vast quantities of *sage* were carried to the *Indies* yearly, as well as of tea brought over from those countries into ours.

Rue is of excellent use for all illnesses of the stomach, that proceed from cold or moist humours; a great digester and restorer of appetite; dispels wind, helps perspiration, drives out ill humours, and thereby comes to be so much prescribed, and so commonly used in pestilent airs, and upon apprehensions of any contagion. The only ill of it lies in the too much or too frequent use, which may lessen and impair the natural heat of the stomach, by the greater heat of an herb very hot and dry; and therefore the juice made up
with

with sugar into small pills, and swallowed only two or three at nights or mornings, and only when there is occasion, is the most innocent way of using it.

Saffron is, of all others, the safest and most simple cordial, the greatest reviver of the heart and chearer of the spirits, and cannot be of too common use in diet, any more than in medicine. The spirit of *saffron* is, of all others, the noblest and most innocent, and yet of the greatest virtue. I have known it restore a man out of the very agonies of death, when left by all physicians as wholly desperate. But the use of this and all spirits ought to be employed only in cases very urgent, either of decays or pains; for all spirits have the same effect with that mentioned of *rue*, which is, by frequent use, to destroy, and at last to extinguish the natural heat of the stomach; as the frequent drinking wine at meals does in a degree, and with time, but that of all strong waters more sensibly and more dangerously. Yet a long custom of either cannot be suddenly broken without danger too, and must be changed with time, with lessening the proportions by degrees, with shorter first, and then with longer intermissions.

Aleboof, or *ground-ivy* is, in my opinion, of the most excellent and most general use and virtue of any plants we have among us. 'Tis allowed to be most sovereign for the eyes, admirable in frenzies, either taken inwardly or outwardly applied. Besides, if there be a specific remedy or prevention of the stone, I take it to be the constant use of *aleboof*-ale, whereof I have known several experiences by others, and can, I thank God, alledge my own for about ten years past. This is the plant with which all our ancestors made their common drink, when the inhabitants of this island were esteemed the longest livers of any in the known world; and the stone is said to have first come amongst us after hops were introduced here, and the staleness of
beer

beer brought into custom by preserving it long. 'Tis known enough, how much this plant has been decry-
ed, how generally soever it has been received in these
maritime northern parts; and the chief reason, which
I believe gave it vogue at first, was the preserving
beer upon long sea-voyages: but for common health,
I am apt to think the use of heath or broom had been
of much more advantage, though none yet invented
of so great and general as that of *aleboof*, which is
certainly the greatest cleanser of any plant known a-
mong us; and which in old *English* signified that which
was necessary to the making of ale, the common or ra-
ther universal drink heretofore of our nation.

Garlic has of all our plants the greatest strength,
affords most nourishment, and supplies most spirits to
those who eat little flesh, as the poorer people seldom
do in the hotter, and especially the more eastern cli-
mates: so that the labour of the world seems to be
performed by the force and virtue of *garlic*, *leeks*, and
onions, no other food of herbs or plants yielding
strength enough for much labour. *Garlic* is of great
virtue in all colics, a great strengthener of the sto-
mach upon decays of appetite or indigestion, and I
believe is (if at least there be any such) a specific re-
medy of the gout. I have known great testimonies of
this kind within my acquaintance, and have never u-
sed it myself upon this occasion, without an opinion
of some success or advantage. But I could never long
enough bear the constraint of a diet I found not very
agreeable myself, and at least fancied offensive to the
company I conversed with.

Besides, this disease is to me so hereditary, and come
into my veins from so many ancestors, that I have
reason to despair of any cure but the last, and con-
tent myself to fence against it by temperance and pa-
tience, without hopes of conquering such an invete-
rate enemy. Therefore I leave the use of *garlic* to

such as are inveigled into the gout by the pleasure of too much drinking, the ill effects whereof are not more relieved by any other diet than by this plant, which is so great a drier and opener, especially by perspiration. Nor is it less used in many parts abroad as physic than as food. In several provinces of *France* 'tis usual to fall into a diet of *garlic* for a fortnight or three weeks, upon the first fresh butter of the spring; and the common people esteem it a preservative against the diseases of the ensuing year; and a broth of *garlic* or *onions* is so generally used the next day after a debauch as to be called *soupe à l'yvroigne*. This is enough to shew the use as well as virtues of this northern spice, which is in mighty request among the *Indians* themselves, in the midst of so many others, that enrich and perfume those noble regions.

Eldar is of great virtue in all indispositions arising from any watery humours: and not only the flowers and berries, but even the green bark, are used with effect, and perhaps equal success in their seasons. I have been told of some great cures of the gout, by the succeeding use of all three throughout the year: but I have been always too libertine for any great and long subjections, to make the trials. The spirit of *eldar* is sovereign in cholics; and the use of it, in general, very beneficial in scurvies and dropsies: though, in the last, I esteem broom yet of more virtue, either brewed in common drink, or the ashes taken in white wine every morning: which may perhaps pass for a specific remedy; whereof we may justly complain, that, after so long experience of so learned a profession as physic, we yet know so very few.

That which has passed of later years, for the most allowed in this kind, has been the *quinquina*, or Jesuits powder in fevers, but especially agues. I can say nothing of it upon any experience of my own, nor many within my knowledge. I remember its entrance

trance upon our stage with some disadvantage, and the repute of leaving no cures, without danger of worse returns. But the credit of it seems now to be established by common use and prescription, and to be improved by new and singular preparations; whereof I have very good and particular reasons to affirm, that they are all amusements; and, that what virtue there is in this remedy, lies in the naked simple itself, as it comes over from the *Indies*, and in the choice of that which is least dried, or perished by the voyage.

The next specific I esteem to be that little insect called *millepedes*: the powder whereof, made up into little balls with fresh butter, I never knew fail of curing any sore throat: it must lie at the root of the tongue, and melt down at leisure upon going to bed. I have been assured that Doctor *Mayerne* used it as a certain cure for all cancers in the breast; and should be very tedious if I should tell here, how much the use of it has been extolled by several within my knowledge, upon the admirable effects for the eyes, the scurvy, and the gout; but there needs no more to value it, than what the ancient physicians affirm of it in those three words:

<i>Digerit,</i>	<i>Aperit,</i>	<i>Abstergit.</i>
It digests,	It opens,	It cleanses.

For rheums in the eyes and the head, I take a leaf of *tobacco* put into the nostrils for an hour each morning, to be a specific medicine: or *betony*, if the other be too strong or offensive. The effect of both is to draw rheums off the head, through their proper and natural channel. And old Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* told me, he had by this preserved his eyes, to so great an age, after the danger of losing them at thirty years old: and I have ever since used it with the same

same success, after great reasons near that age to apprehend the loss or decays of mine.

In times and places of great contagion, the strongest preservative, yet known; is a piece of *myrrh* held in the mouth, when, or where, the danger is most apprehended; which I have both practised and taught many others with success, in several places where cruel plagues have raged: though in such cases, after all, the best and safest is to run away as soon as one can. Yet, upon this occasion, I think *myrrh* may pass for a specific in prevention; and may, for aught I know, be of use in remedies, as the greatest enemy of corruption; which is known by the use of embalmings in the *East*.

For all illnesses of stomach, or indigestions, proceeding from hot and sharp humours; to which my whole family has been much subject, as well as very many of my acquaintance; and, for which, powder of crabs-eyes and claws and burnt egg-shells are often prescribed as sweeteners of any sharp humours; I have never found any thing of much or certain effect, besides the eating of *strawberries*, common *cherries*, white *figs*, soft *peaches*, or *grapes*, before every meal, during their seasons; and, when those are past, *apples* after meals; but all must be very ripe; And this, by my own and all my friends experience who have tried it, I reckon for a specific medicine in this illness so frequently complained of: at least, for the two first, I never knew them fail; and the usual quantity is about forty *cherries*, without swallowing either skin or stone. I observe this the rather, because the recourse commonly made in this case to strong waters I esteem very pernicious, and which inevitably destroys the stomach with frequent use. The best, at least most innocent, of all distilled liquors is *milk-water*, made with *balm*, *carduus*, *mint*, and *wormwood*; which has many good effects in illnesses of the stomach, and
none

none ill. The best and safest strong water, if any be so, for common use, I esteem to be that made of *juniper berries*, especially in accidents of stone and colic.

Of all cordials, I esteem my Lady *Kent's* powder the best, the most innocent, and the most universal; though the common practice of physic abounds in nothing more, and the virtue seems to be little else, besides an allusion of the name to the heart.

Upon the gout I have writ what I had known or practised, in an essay of *moxa*; and upon the spleen, what I had observed in a chapter, upon the dispositions of the people in the *Netherlands*. I shall only add for the help of my fellow-sufferers in the first; that besides what is contained in that former essay, and since those pains have grown more diffused, and less fixed in one point, so as to be burned with *moxa*, which never failed of giving me present ease; I have found the most benefit from three methods. The first, is that of moving the joint where the pain begins, as long as I am able in my bed; which I have often done, and counted five or six hundred times or more, till I found first a great heat, and then perspiration, in the part: the heat spends or disperses the humour within, and the perspiration drives it out; and I have escaped many threats of ill fits by these motions: if they go on, the only poltice or plaister, I have dealt with, is wool from the belly of a fat sheep, which has often given me ease in a very little time. If the pains grow sharp, and the swellings so diffused, as not to be burned with *moxa*; the best remedy, I have found, is from a piece of scarlet dipped in scalding brandy, laid upon the afflicted part, and the heat often renewed, by dropping it upon the scarlet as hot as can be endured. And from this I have often found the same success as from *moxa*, and without breaking the skin, or leaving any sore.

To what I have said in another place of the spleen, I shall only add here, that, whatever the spleen is, whether a disease of the part so called, or of people that ail something, but they know not what; it is certainly a very ill ingredient into any other disease, and very often dangerous. For, as hope is the sovereign balsam of life, and the best cordial in all distempers both of body or mind; so fear, and regret, and melancholy apprehensions, which are the usual effects of the spleen, with the distractions, disquiets, or at least intranquillity, they occasion, are the worst accidents that can attend any diseases; and make them often mortal, which would otherwise pass, and have had but a common course. I have known the most busy ministers of state, most fortunate courtiers, most vigorous youths, most beautiful virgins, in the strength or flower of their age, sink under common distempers, by the force of such weights, and the cruel damps and disturbances thereby given their spirits and their blood. 'Tis no matter what is made the occasion if well improved by spleen and melancholy apprehensions: a disappointed hope, a blot of honour, a strain of conscience, an unfortunate love, an aking jealousy, a repining grief, will serve the turn, and all alike.

I remember an ingenious physician, who told me, in the fanatic times, he found most of his patients so disturbed by troubles of conscience, that he was forced to play the divine with them before he could begin the physician: whose greatest skill perhaps often lies in the infusing of hopes, and inducing some composure and tranquillity of mind, before they enter upon the other operations of their art: and this ought to be the first endeavour of the patient too; without which, all other medicines may lose their virtue.

The two great blessings of life are, in my opinion, *health* and *good humour*; and none contribute more to one another; without *health*, all will allow life to be
but

but a burden; and the several conditions of fortune to be all wearisome, dull, or disagreeable, without *good humour*: nor does any seem to contribute towards the true happiness of life, but as it serves to increase that treasure, or to preserve it. Whatever other differences are commonly apprehended in the several conditions of fortune, none perhaps will be found so true or so great, as what is made by those two circumstances, so little regarded in the common course or pursuits of mortal men.

Whether long life be a blessing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how 'tis like to be attended. *Socrates* used to say, that 'twas pleasant to grow old with good health and a good friend; and he might have reason. A man may be content to live while he is no trouble to himself or his friends; but, after that, 'tis hard if he be not content to die. I knew and esteemed a person abroad, who used to say, a man must be a mean wretch that desired to live after threescore years old. But so much, I doubt, is certain, that, in life, as in wine, he, that will drink it good, must not draw it to the dregs.

Where this happens, one comfort of age may be, that, whereas younger men are usually in pain, when they are not in pleasure, old men find a sort of pleasure, whenever they are out of pain. And, as young men often lose or impair their present enjoyments, by raving after what is to come, by vain hopes, or fruitless fears; so old men relieve the wants of their age, by pleasing reflexions upon what is past. Therefore men, in the health and vigour of their age, should endeavour to fill their lives with reading, with travel, with the best conversation, and the worthiest actions, either in their public or private stations; that they may have something agreeable left to feed on, when they are old, by pleasing remembrances.

But,

But, as they are only the clean beasts which chew the cud, when they have fed enough; so they must be clean and virtuous men that can reflect, with pleasure, upon the past accidents or courses of their lives. Besides, men who grow old with good sense, or good fortunes, and good nature, cannot want the pleasure of pleasing others, by assisting with their gifts, their credit, and their advice, such as deserve it; as well as their care of children, kindness to friends, and bounty to servants.

But there cannot indeed live a more unhappy creature than an ill-natured old man, who is neither capable of receiving pleasures, nor sensible of doing them to others; and, in such a condition, it is time to leave them.

Thus have I traced, in this essay, whatever has fallen in my way or thoughts to observe concerning life and health, and which I conceived might be of any public use to be known or considered: the plainness wherewith it is written easily shews, there could be no other intention: and it may at least pass like a *Derbyshire charm*, which is used among sick cattle, with these words; if it does thee no good, it will do thee no harm.

To sum up all, the first principle of health and long life is derived from the strength of our race or our birth; which gave occasion to that saying, *gaudeant bene nati*: let them rejoice that are happily born. Accidents are not in our power to govern: so that the best cares or provisions for life and health, that are left us, consist in the discreet and temperate government of diet and exercise: in both which all excess is to be avoided, especially in the common use of wine; whereof the first glass may pass for health, the second for good humour, the third for our friends; but the fourth is for our enemies.

For

For temperance in other kinds, or in general, I have given its character and virtues in the essay of *moxa*, so as to need no more upon that subject here.

When, in default or despite of all these cares, or by effect of ill airs and seasons, acute or strong diseases may arise, recourse must be had to the best physicians that are in reach, whose success will depend upon thought and care, as much as skill. In all diseases of body or mind, it is happy to have an able physician for a friend, or a discreet friend for a physician; which is so great a blessing, that the wise man will have it to proceed only from God, where he says, *A faithful friend is the medicine of life, and he that fears the Lord shall find him.*

Vol. II.

H h h

SOME

I Have been induced, by several motives, to take a further survey of the controversy arisen, of late years, concerning the excellence of ancient or modern learning. First, the common interest of learning in general, and particularly in our universities; and to prevent the discouragement of scholars, in all degrees, from reading the ancient authors, who must be acknowledged to have been the foundation of all modern learning, whatever the superstructures may have been. Next, a just indignation at the insolence of the modern advocates, in defaming those heroes among the ancients, whose memory has been sacred and admired for so many ages; as *Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus, &c.* This, I confess, gave me the same kind of horror I should have had, in seeing some young barbarous *Goths or Vandals* breaking or defacing the admirable statues of those ancient heroes of *Greece or Rome,* which

which had so long preserved their memories honoured, and almost adored, for so many generations.

My last motive was, to vindicate the credit of our nation, as others have done that of the *French*, from the imputation of this injustice and presumption that the modern advocates have used in this case. For which end, it will be necessary to relate the whole state of this controversy.

It is by themselves confessed, that, till the new philosophy had gotten ground in these parts of the world, which is about fifty or sixty years date, there were but few that ever pretended to exceed or equal the ancients; those that did were only some physicians, as *Paracelsus* and his disciples, who introduced new notions in physic, and new methods of practice, in opposition to the Galenical; and this chiefly from chymical medicines or operations. But these were not able to maintain their pretence long; the credit of their cures, as well as their reasons, soon decaying with the novelty of them, which had given them vogue at first.

Des-Cartes was the next that would be thought to excel the ancients by a new scheme or body of philosophy, which, I am apt to think, he had a mind to impose upon the world, as *Nostradamus* did his prophecies, only for their own amusement, and without either of them believing any of it themselves: for *Des-Cartes*, among his friends, always called his philosophy *his romance*. Which makes it as pleasant to hear young scholars possessed with all his notions, as to see boys taking *Amadis*, and the *Mirror of knight-hood*, for true stories.

The next, that set up for the excellency of the new learning above the old, were some of *Gresham* college, after the institution of that society by King *Charles II.* these began early to debate and pursue this pretence, and were followed by the *French* academy, who took up the controversy more at large, and descended to many

many particulars: Monsieur *Fontenelle* gave the academy the preference in poetry and oratory, as well as in philosophy and mathematics; and Monsieur *Perault*, in painting and architecture, as well as oratory and poetry; setting up the Bishop of *Meaux* against *Pericles* and *Thucydides*; the Bishop of *Niemes* against *Isocrates*; *F. Bourdelone* against *Nicias*; *Balsac* against *Cicero*; *Voiture* against *Pliny*; *Boileau* against *Horace*; and *Corneille* against all the ancient and famous dramatic poets.

About five or six years ago, these modern pretences were opposed in *An essay upon ancient and modern learning*: and the *Miscellanea* (whereof that essay was a part) being translated into *French*, the members of that academy were so concerned and ashamed, that a stranger should lay such an infamy upon some of their society, as want of reverence for the ancients, and the presumption of preferring the moderns before them, that they fell into great indignation against the few criminals among them; they began to pelt them with satires and epigrams in writing, and with bitter ralleries in their discourses and conversations; and led them such a life, that they soon grew weary of their new-fangled opinions; which had perhaps been taken up at first, only to make their court, and at second hand to flatter those who flattered their King.

Upon the *Miscellanea's* first printing in *Paris*, Monsieur *Boileau* made this short satire.

*Quelqu'un vint l'autre jour se plaindre au Dieu des vers
Qu'en certain lieu de l'univers
L'on traite d'auteurs froids, de poëtes steriles,
Les Homeres & les Virgiles;
Cela ne sauroit être, l'on se moque de vous,
Reprit Apollon en courroux;
Ou peut on avancer une telle infamie?
Est ce chez les Hyrons, chez les Topinambous?*

C'est

*C'est à Paris. C'est donc à l'Hôpital de fous;
Non, c'est au Louvre en pleine Academie.*

Upon the same occasion, and about the same time, Monsieur Racine made this other, which more particularly touched Monsieur Perrault, as the first did Monsieur Fontenelle.

*D'où vient, que Cicéron, Platon, Virgile, Homère,
Et tous ces grands auteurs que l'univers revere,
Traduits en vos écrits nous paroissent si fols,
Perrault? C'est qu'en prêtant à ces esprits sublimes
Vos façons de parler, vos bassesses, vos rymes,
Vous les fais tous paroître des Perraults.*

Some of the French academy took the care to send these, and other such pieces, into England and other countries, to clear their reputation from the slander drawn upon them by two or three of their body; and treated the reverence of the ancients as something sacred, and the want of it as barbarous and profane.

Monsieur Perrault, to escape the rest of this storm, soon changed his party, professing it upon all occasions; and, to show the truth of his conversion, published among other small pieces the dialogue in *Homer* between *Hector* and *Andromache*, which he had translated into French, and presented to the academy March the 3d, 1693, after a speech made them upon this subject, wherein are these lines, both the verses and the speech being since printed together.

“Whatever care I have taken to praise *Homer* upon
“all occasions, and to acknowledge him for the most
“excellent, the vastest, and the noblest genius that
“has ever been in poesy; yet, because I had taken the
“liberty of remarking some defaults in his works,
“men have risen up against me, as if I had committed
“some

“ some high-treason ; and that which ought to have
 “ been regarded but as the part of a grammarian, has
 “ been taken up as an audacious enterprize, which
 “ deserved all the scorn and indignation of *Parnassus*.

“ Now, that I may not be believed to have so ill a
 “ taste, as to be insensible of the beauties of this ex-
 “ cellent poet, and to admire what is admirable in
 “ him, I have translated one of the finest passages of
 “ his *Iliads* : I thought, if the protestations I have so
 “ often made to honour the author of this poem could
 “ not persuade the world, yet this translation might
 “ do it, since it is certain that one would not take the
 “ pains to translate into *French* a piece of *Greek* poesy,
 “ unless one extremely esteemed it.

By this it appears with what indignation and scorn
 this new opinion of our modern admirers has been used
 in *France*, and how penitent a recantation Monsieur
Perrault thought fit to make for his former errors ; so
 as those, who have since followed and defended him or
 his first opinions, seem to have been decoyed into the
 net by another duck, that flew away as soon as they
 were caught. Therefore the late objections against that
 essay, and in favour of the moderns, seem to have
 been writ without any intelligence of what passed at
Paris before or about that time, having had the ill
 fortune to be deserted in *France*, and not countenanced
 that I know of in *England*. For the learned author of
 the *Antediluvian* World, though most concerned in that
 essay upon this subject, has been so far from defending
 this new assertion, that he has since published his *A-*
rchæologia, and therein shewn both his great knowledge
 and esteem of the ancient learning, and proved there-
 by, that whoever knows it must esteem it ; and lest
 such modern advocates for an evidence of the contrary,
 that whoever despises it, in comparison of the new,
 does not know it.

The

The modern advocates, to destroy the monuments of ancient learning, first think it necessary to shew what mean contemptible men were the founders of it, and fall foul upon *Pythagoras*, the seven sages, *Empedocles* and *Democritus*.

For *Pythagoras*, they are so gracious as to give him some quarter, and allow him to be a wiser man than the fools among whom he lived, in an ignorant age and country : in short, they are content he should pass for a lawgiver, but by no means for a philosopher. Now the good judgment shewn, in this wise censure of so great a man, will easily appear to all that know him, *Pythagoras* was indeed desired to frame the institutions of a civil state in a small town of *Italy* where he lived ; but that he had the misfortune to perish by a sedition in the government he had formed ; so that there remain no records or traces of any of his civil institutions. Whereas, on the other side, he has, in all ages, from his own till our time, by all learned nations and persons, even Christians as well as Pagans, been esteemed the Prince of philosophers, and to have excelled in all natural and moral knowledge, as well as civil and mathematical : from him *Socrates* derived the principles of virtue and morality, as well as *Plato* both these, and most of his natural speculations. Nor was the memory of any other philosopher so adored by all his followers ; nor any of their instructions so successful in forming the lives of the most excellent men, whereof three were bred up together under a *Pythagorean* philosopher at *Thebes*, who were not excelled by any others of their own, nor perhaps succeeding ages ; which were *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, and *Philip* of *Macedon*.

To discredit all the fountains from which *Pythagoras* is said to have drawn his admirable knowledge, they cannot guess to what purpose he should have gone to *Delphos*, nor that *Apollo's* Priestesses there should have been

been famous for discovering secrets in natural or mathematical matters, or moral truths. In this they discover their deep knowledge of antiquity, taking the oracle of *Delphos* to have been managed by some frantic or fanatic wenches; whereas the *Pythia's* there were only engines managed by the Priests of *Delphos*, who, like those of *Egypt*, were a college or society of wise and learned men in all sorts of sciences, though the use of them was in a manner wholly applied to the honour and service of their oracle. And we may guess at the rest by the last high Priest we know of at *Delphos*, I mean *Plutarch*, the best and most learned man of his age, if we may judge by the writings he has left. Nor could it have been without the sage councils, the wise answers, or ingenious and ambiguous evasions of these *Delphic* Priests, that the credit of that oracle should have continued for so long a course of time, as from the age of the *Argonauts* (and how much before no man knows) to the latter end at least of *Trajan's* reign, wherein *Plutarch* writ: and how great the credit was, wherein that oracle was preserved by the wise conduct of their Priests, may be gathered from the vast riches which were there heaped up, from the offerings of all the *Grecian*, and so many distant nations. For, before the seizure made of the temple of *Delphos* by the *Phoceans*, they were reported by some ancient authors to have been as great as those which *Alexander* found in the palaces and treasuries of the Kings of *Persia*; and 'tis agreed, that the *Phoceans*, to pay their armies in the sacred war, made bold at once with such a part of those treasures as amounted to above ten thousand talents.

I have been sometimes apt to think, from the prodigious thunders, and lightnings, and storms, by which this temple is said, in the best ancient authors, to have been defended from the *Persians* and the *Gauls*, that the Priests of *Delphos* had some admirable know-
ledge

ledge of that kind, which was called magical; or that they knew the use and force of gun-powder so many ages since, and reserved it, as they did the effects of all their sciences, for the service of their god: nor, if it were so, would it be stranger, that such an invention should have been found out then by the Priests of *Delphos*, than that it was so of late by a poor German Fryar.

For the seven *sages*, who are treated like the wise men of *Gotham*, and I doubt by such as are alike acquainted with both, I shall say nothing in their defence, but direct the reader to the essay itself.

For *Empedocles* and *Democritus*, I confess, the modern advocates could not have done their cause or themselves more right, than in chusing these two great men of the ancients, after *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, for the objects of their scorn; for none among them had ever so great esteem, and almost veneration, as these four. The two last were the heads or founders of the *Ionic* and *Italic* sects of philosophers, and brought not only astronomy and mathematics, but natural and moral philosophy first among the *Grecians*, whom we may observe in *Homer's* time to have been as barbarous as the *Thracians*, governed by nothing but will and passion, violence, cruelty, and foolish superstition.

Empedocles was the glory and the boast of *Sicily*, and of whom his countryman *Diodorus*, who was most particular in the story of all that was wonderful in that island, says, that the birth of *Empedocles* had been glory enough to *Sicily*, though nothing else great or excellent had been produced there. He was an admirable poet, and thought even to have approached *Homer*, in a poem he writ of natural philosophy, and from which *Aristotle* is believed to have drawn the body of his, so much followed afterwards in the world. He first invented the art of oratory, and the rules of it. He was an admirable physician, and stopped a

plague at *Agrigentum* by the disposal of fires, which purged the air. He performed such cures of desperate diseases, that for this, and his foretelling many strange events, his citizens would have given him divine honours. He had so much credit in his State, that he changed the form and number of their great council, and was offered the principality of *Agrigentum*, but refused it, being as excellent in his morals as in all other sciences.

Democritus was the founder of that sect which made so much noise afterwards in the world under the name of *Epicurus*, who owed him both his atoms and his vacuum in his natural philosophy, and his tranquillity of mind in his morals. He spent a vast patrimony in pursuit of learning, by his travels, to learn of the *Magi* in *Chaldea*, the Priests in *Egypt*, as far as those of *Meroë*, and the *Gymnosophists* of *India*. He was admirable in physic, in the knowledge of natural causes and events. He left many writings in all sorts of sciences, whereof one, *Of the world*, was sold for an hundred talents: and 'tis obvious to guess at the value of the rest by that of this one; for it may be presumed with appearance enough, that what person soever has written one excellent book, will never write an ill one; as, on t'other side, whoever has writ and published one foolish book, will never write a good one. If we knew nothing of *Democritus*, but from that excellent epistle of *Hippocrates* to *Demagetus*, with an account of the wisdom of *Democritus*, and the folly of the *Abderites*; the testimony of one so great man might have left some little respect for the other. But this is a just return upon him, after two thousand years; *Democritus* laughed at the world, and our modern learned laughed at *Democritus*.

I think the excellency of the ancient or modern sciences may be further concluded from the greatness and excellency of those effects that have been produced by those

those causes; and to this end I might be allowed to describe, or rather transcribe out of the best ancient authors, the accounts that are left us of the walls of *Babylon*, with the palace and temple of *Belus*, built by the *Assyrians*: the town and fortress of *Ecbatan*, by the *Medes*: the city and palace of *Persepolis*, by the *Persians*: the pyramids and obelisks of *Egypt*, the temple of *Vulcan* there, with the lake and labyrinth of *Mæris*: the colossus of *Rhodes*: the station for two hundred gallies at *Carthage*, built upon two hundred arches in the sea, with galleries over them to hold their stores: the amphitheatres and aqueducts at *Rome*: the bridge of *Trajan* over the *Danube*: the seven towers at *Byzantium*, when it was taken and ruined by *Severus*; built with such admirable art, that any words, spoken at the first, were conveyed from one to t'other till the very last, though all at distances between them.

These and many other productions of the ancients, though perhaps as little valued by the moderns as their worthies; yet I confess are beyond my comprehension how they could be effected, without some other mathematical skill and engines than have been since known in the world.

I might add upon the subject of naval fabric, wherein we seem most justly to have advantage, the two prodigious ships or gallies built, the one by *Hiero* at *Syracuse*, and sent from thence into *Egypt*, wherein were not only contained all apartments for a Prince's palace and attendants, but a garden with natural flowers, and fruits, and fish-ponds, and other usual ornaments of great palaces. The other was built by *Ptolemy Philopater* at *Alexandria*; and besides room for the King's Court, attendants, and guards, contained four thousand men at the oar.

I might further relate, from the most credited authors, those long and stupendous defences that were made

made at *Tyre* against all the forces of *Alexander*, at *Rhodes* against *Demetrius*, and at *Syracuse* against the *Roman* powers, by the sole force of mathematical skill and engines, which raised such vast weights into the air with such ease, and directed their fall with such certainty, as might have almost given credit to that bold word of *Archimedes*: *give me but where to stand firm, and I will remove the earth.*

But 'tis enough to give these instances of the wonderful effects and operations of the ancient sciences, and thereby occasion of inquiry, and I am sure entertainment, to such as are not acquainted with them.

In the mean time, since the modern advocates yield, though very unwillingly, the pre-eminence of the ancients in poetry, oratory, painting, statuary, and architecture; I shall proceed to examine the account they give of those sciences, wherein they affirm the moderns to excel the ancients; whereof they make the chief to be, the invention of instruments; chymistry, anatomy, natural history of minerals, plants, and animals; astronomy, and optics; music; physic; natural philosophy; philology; and theology: of all which I shall take a short survey.

Here, it is supposed, the knowledge of the ancients and moderns in the sciences last mentioned was to have been compared; but whether the author designed to have gone through such a work himself, or intended these papers only for hints to some body else that desired them, is not known.

After which the rest was to follow, written in his own hand, as before.

Though it may easily be conjectured, from the wonderful productions of the ancients, how great their sciences were especially in the mathematics, which is of all other the most valuable to the use and benefit of mankind;

kind; yet we have all the testimonies besides, that can be given, of the height they were at among the *Egyptians*, from the ingenious confessions of the *Greek* authors, as well as from the voyages that were made into *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Babylon*, and even the *Indies*, by those who are allowed for the greatest among the *Greek* lawgivers and philosophers; whereof so distinct an account has been given in that essay of the *Miscellanea* (already mentioned) upon ancient and modern learning. But the modern advocates can believe nothing of it, because we know none of the records or histories of those nations remaining, but what was left us by the *Greeks*; and conclude the infancy of the *Egyptians* in other sciences, because they left no account of their own history or the reigns of their Kings.

I might content myself with what has been already made so plain in this matter, by shewing how those ancient eastern nations were generally without learning, except what was possessed by the Priests, and preserved as sacred in their colleges and temples; so that, when those came to be ruined, their learning was so too. It has been also demonstrated in the same essay, how all the traces and memorials of learning and story may be lost in a nation by the conquest of barbarous people, great plagues, and great inundations; and for instance how little is known in *Ireland* of what is so generally believed, of learning having flourished there. And how little we should know, even of ancient *Greece* or *Italy*, or other parts of *Europe* and *Asia*, if the two learned languages of *Greek* and *Latin* had not been preserved, and continued in credit and in use, among the few pretenders to any sort of learning in those parts of the world, upon the ravages and destructions in them by the barbarous northern nations.

But, to put this matter past dispute, I shall shew more particularly when and how the ancient learning decayed

decayed in those nations where it so much flourished in the height of their empires, and fell or declined with the loss of their liberties, or subjection to new conquerors.

I will not determine from what antiquity of time learning flourished among the *Egyptians* or *Assyrians*; because these moderns will not allow the plainest accounts given us by the best *Greek* and *Latin* authors, of the duration of those empires, though not contrary to the periods allowed us by the Scriptures: but the reasons they give for not believing them seem too weak and frivolous to be taken notice of: as first, that we have no account of the *Assyrian* Kings in Scripture, till *Tiglatb Pileser*, and others; whereas the Scripture takes no notice of the story, of either *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Tyrians*, or *Sidonian* governments, but as they had, at some certain times, a relation to the affairs of the *Jews* or their commonwealth. And, as it has never succeeded with so many learned men, that have spent their whole time and pains to agree the sacred with the profane chronology; (not to except Sir *John Marsham's* great industry) so I never expect to see it done to any purpose. Their next reason is, because we have no account of the actions of so many *Assyrian* Kings, as are reckoned from *Semiramis* to *Sardanapalus*; they cannot conceive, that their lives were past in their palaces, and the entertainments of leisure and pleasure, during the uninterrupted felicity, as well as the vast extent of their empire, beyond the desires of increasing, or the fears of losing any part of it, while the excellent orders at first established were observed; and thereby, as well as by their Princes seldom appearing out of their vast palaces and paradises (or gardens and parks about them) the adoration of those Kings was preserved among their subjects.

Now I confess, a man of an easy and quiet temper might be allowed hardly to imagine what Kings in
such

such a posture of fortune and power should do, more than to preserve the order and quiet of their kingdoms; or how they should furnish their ages with more story, than of their magnificence in their buildings and treasures: nor do we find much more recorded of *Solomon's* long and happy reign among the *Jews*; nor are they, in the *Miscellanea*, employed in gardening all that time, though the first accounts of gardening are there deduced from *Assyria*. But suppose those idle Kings, besides the entertainments of luxury and pleasure, should have spent their time (or what lay upon their hands) in chymistry, in anatomy, in the stories of plants and animals; in optics and philosophy; in such speculations as the royal society entertain themselves and the world with; or in conversing with their *Magi*, or other learned men: I hope it cannot be denied, but Princes might pass their lives in such entertainments, without bloody and violent actions, that make the subject of common history.

And yet who knows but many such there were too, in the course of those empires, during those ages; but the records of them lost, with their other sciences, further than some memory and short accounts given us by the few *Greek* authors that we have now remaining. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

The ancient *Assyrian* learning, which had run so long a course of time, and grown to so great a height in the colleges or societies of their *Magi*, or *Chaldeans*, began to decay upon the conquest of that empire, first by the *Medes*, and afterwards by *Cyrus* and his *Persians*, who were then a sort of barbarous nation, that knew nothing beyond what they had learned and practised, from the civil or military institutions of *Cyrus*, a wise lawgiver, as well as great Captain, and thereby the founder of that mighty kingdom. But the last and fatal blow, given to that ancient learning, was in the time of *Darius*, father of *Xerxes*, who, with the rest
of

of the *Perfians*, spited at the *Magi*, upon the usurpation of the Crown by one of their number, (that counterfeited a younger son of *Cyrus* after the death of *Cambyses*) when he came to be settled in that throne, endeavoured to abolish, not only their learning and credit, but their language too, by changing the old *Assyrian* characters, and introducing those of *Persia*, which grew to be the common use of that whole empire.

Under the first and second race of these *Persian* Kings, the genius of that nation being wholly military, their conquests were indeed vastly extended, beyond the bounds of the *Assyrian* empire, by subduing *Lydia*, the Lesser *Asia*, and the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, which had ever been a rival of the *Assyrian* greatness: but, during the successions of this monarchy, all learning was so lost among them, that no certain records were preserved, either of actions or of times, under the races of the *Assyrian* Kings: so as the first period of story, which remains in any profane authors, seems to begin with *Cyrus*: and all before his birth is so obscure, so variously reported, or so mingled with fable and truth, that no sound or certain judgment can be fixed upon them, whatever pains have been employed to reconcile them. For all other sciences, they were in a manner extinguished during the course of this empire, excepting only a smatter of judicial astrology; by which, under the name of *Chaldeans*, some of that race long amused ignorant and credulous people.

But, upon the sun-set of this ancient *Assyrian* learning, it began to dawn in *Greece*, with the growth and flourishing of the *Athenian* State, by whose navigations and traffic, several noble wits, among them and the rest of the *Grecians*, entered into commerce with the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*; and from them, or their priests, drew the first rudiments of those sciences which they brought into *Greece*, and by which they grew so renowned in their own and after-ages. Such were *Solon*,

lon, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, and many others; whose lives and voyages into those eastern regions we are less acquainted with, by the loss of so many books, and the injuries of devouring time.

The learning of the *Egyptians*; whenever it began, continued in great height and admiration of their neighbours, till the reign of *Nectanebus*; when, after a revolt of the *Egyptians* from the *Persian* empire, which lasted and prospered in two or three Kings reigns, one of the *Artaxerxes's* subdued *Egypt*, and this last of the *Egyptian* Kings; reduced the whole kingdom to the *Persian* obedience; but, enraged at their rebellion and obstinate resistance, executed his conquest with such rage, that, besides infinite slaughters, he razed many of their cities, and the walls of them all; ruined their temples, destroyed or dispersed their priests, and the archives or records of those famous colleges, and whatever of them he thought fit to preserve, he carried away with him into *Persia*.

This happened during the reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and gave a fatal period to the ancient *Egyptian* learning and sciences. After which time, we know of no voyages made by the *Greek* philosophers into *Egypt*, upon that search; but *Plato* was the last of renown that undertook that voyage, who lived, and was in *Egypt*, not long before this cruel revolution.

'Tis true, the *Grecian* races of Kings, afterwards in *Egypt*, called *Ptolemies*, during the quiet and felicity of many reigns, endeavoured all they could the restoration of learning among them, by countenance and all sorts of encouragement to their priests that remained, and by the collection of that vast library at *Alexandria*: but the learning and science of the old *Egyptian* priests was never recovered; and that professed by the new was turned to superstition and mystery, initiations and expiations, the procuring or foretelling events by mystical sacrifices, or magical operations, which lasted

indeed to *Adrian's* time, but without credit or esteem among the wiser part of the world.

The same, or rather a greater desolation, than that of *Egypt*, in the time of *Nectanebus*, was made of the *Sidonians*, and their whole city and territory, by the same *Artaxerxes*, in his passage from *Persia* to *Egypt*, upon the rebellion of that city. The like happened to *Tyre*, upon the cruel conquest, by *Alexander* the Great, of that famous city. (Though the ancient *Tyre* that stood upon the continent had been ruined long before.) And, with the ruin of those two, perished the *Phœnician* learning, which had flourished there for so many ages, and no account left us of them, besides what remains in the very few ancient *Greek* or *Latin* books that are preserved among us. How few they are indeed may be very justly bewailed, the compass of them extending but from the time of *Hippocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which was about four hundred years; and yet the number of those, written in that period, and preserved to our age, is more to be deplored. But I shall not enter into search of the causes, or times of the loss of so many of the rest, as we find mentioned by *Diodorus*, *Origen*, *Athenæus*, or others, whereof some were not long before *Constantine*. And it is recorded, that the young Emperor *Gordian* was so great a lover of learning, that, in his short reign, he collected a library of sixty two thousand volumes; but what became of them, or when so many monuments of the ancient learning were lost, I cannot undertake to find out: only it is certain, that, besides infinite numbers of *Greek* histories and poets, those of all the several sects of philosophers are lost, besides what has been preserved of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

I cannot but take notice, how hardly the modern advocates part with their own concessions to the ancients, in poetry and eloquence; and upon what judicious

dicious grounds they detract from them in the first, and contest with them in the other.

They allow indeed the sweetness of the *Greek* poetry to be inimitable, but attribute it wholly to the language, and the sounds and syllables that compose it. They might as well say, the excellence of picture comes from the beauty of the colours; and of statuary, from the fineness of the marble; whereas a common hand, with the finest colours in the world, can paint nothing better than a sign-post; and the drawing of a hand, in black and white, may be of ten times more art and value, as well as beauty, than a common picture, though never so finely coloured. 'Tis the same thing in poetry; the language is but the colouring; 'tis the conception, the invention, the judgment, that give the life and spirit, as well as beauty and force, to a poem. And I desire to know whether any of the *Greek* poets, that writ after the end of *Ptolemy's* race in *Egypt*, are at all comparable to those that writ before; yet we have but too many of them left us to make the comparison.

Upon the subject of eloquence, they will have it, that *Padre Paolo's* Council of *Trent*, and *Comines's* Memoirs, are equal to *Herodotus* and *Livy*; and so would *Strada* be too, if he were but impartial. This is very wonderful, if it be not a jest; for *Padre Paulo*, he must be allowed for the greatest genius of his age, and perhaps of all the moderns, as appears in his other writings, as well as the Council of *Trent*; which is, indeed, no history of any great actions, but only an account of a long and artificial negotiation, between the Court and Prelates of *Rome*, and those of other christian Princes: so that I do not see, how it can properly be stiled an history, the subject whereof are great actions and revolutions: and, by all the ancient critics upon history, the first part of the excellence

cellence of an historian is the choice of a noble and great subject, that may be worth his pains.

For *Philip de Comines*, none ever called it a history, nor he himself, other than memoirs; nor does either the subject deserve it, or the author; who is valued only for his great truth of relation, and simplicity of stile.

There are three, which I do not conceive well, how they can be brought into the number of sciences; which are, chymistry, philology, and divinity.

For that part of chymistry, which is conversant in discovering and extracting the virtue of metals, or other minerals, or of any simples, that are employed with success, for health or medicine, 'tis a study that may be of much use and benefit to mankind, and is certainly the most diverting amusement to those that pursue it. But for the other part, which is applied to the transmutation of metals, and the search of the philosopher's stone, which has enchanted, not to say turned, so many brains in the later ages: "Though
" some men cannot comprehend, how there should
" have been so much smoke, for so many ages in the
" world about it, without some fire:" 'Tis easy, I think, to conceive, that there has been a great deal of fire, without producing any thing but smoke. If it be a science, 'tis certainly one of the liberal ones; for the professors or followers of it have spent more money upon it, than those of all other sciences together; and more than they will ever recover, without the philosopher's stone. Whether they are now any nearer than they were when they began, I do not know; nor could ever find it determined among wise and learned men, whether alchymy were any thing more than a wild vision or imagination of some shattered heads, or else a practice of knaves upon fools, as well as sometimes of fools upon themselves. For, however *Borrichius*, or any others, may attribute the vast expences of the
Pyramids

Pyramids, and treasures of *Solomon*, to the philosopher's stone; I am apt to believe, none ever yet had it, except it were *Midas*, and his possession seems a little discredited by his ass's ears: and I wish the pursuit of many others may not fall under the same prejudice. For my own part, I confess I have always looked upon alchymy in natural philosophy, to be like enthusiasm in divinity, and to have troubled the world much to the same purpose. And I should as soon fall into the study of the *Rosycrucian* philosophy, and expect to meet a *Nymph* or a *Sylph*, for a wife or a mistress, as with the elixir for my health, or philosopher's stone for my fortune.

'Tis not so difficult to comprehend, how such a folly should last so long in the world, and yet without any ground in nature, or in reason; if a man considers, how the pagan religion lasted for so many ages, with such general opinion and devotion; which yet all now confess to have been nothing but an illusion or a dream, with some practice of cunning Priests, upon the credulous and ignorant people; which seems to have been the case of this modern science; for ancient it is none, nor any at all that I know of.

For philology, I know not well what to make of it, and less, how it came into the number of sciences: if it be only criticism upon ancient authors and languages, he must be a conjurer that can make those moderns with their comments, and glossaries, and annotations, more learned than the authors themselves in their own languages, as well as the subjects they treat.

I must confess, that the critics are a race of scholars I am very little acquainted with; having always esteemed them but like brokers, who, having no stock of their own, set up and trade with that of other men; buying here and selling there, and commonly abusing both sides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of
money

money or of credit, for themselves, and care not at whose cost. Yet the first design of these kind of writers, after the restoration of learning in these western parts, was to be commended, and of much use and entertainment to the age. 'Tis to them we owe the editions of all the ancient authors, the best translations of many out of *Greek*, the restoring of the old copies, maimed with time or negligence, the correcting of others mistaken in the transcribing, the explaining places obscure, in an age so ignorant of the style and customs of the ancients: and in short, endeavouring to recover those old jewels out of the dust and rubbish, wherein they had been so long lost or soiled; to restore them to their native lustre, and make them appear in their true light.

This made up the merit and value of the critics for the first hundred years, and deserved both praise and thanks of the age, and the rewards of Princes, as well as the applause of common scholars, which they generally received. But since they have turned their vein to debase the credit and value of the ancients, and raise their own above those, to whom they owe all the little they know; and instead of true wit, sense, or genius, to display their own proper colours of pride, envy, or detraction, in what they write: to trouble themselves and the world with vain niceties and captious cavils, about words and syllables, in the judgment of style; about hours and days, in the account of ancient actions or times; about antiquated names of persons or places, with many such worthy trifles; and all this, to find some occasion of censuring and defaming such writers as are, or have been, most esteemed in the world: raking into slight wounds where they find any, or scratching till they make some, where there were none before: there is, I think, no sort of talent so despicable, as that of such common critics, who can at best pretend but to value themselves, by
discovering

discovering the defaults of other men, rather than any worth or merit of their own: a sort of levellers, that will needs equal the best or richest of the country, not by improving their own estates, but reducing those of their neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves. The truth is, there has been so much written of this kind of stuff, that the world is surfeited with the same things over and over; or old common notions, new dressed, and perhaps embroidered.

For divinity, wherein they give the moderns such a preference above the ancients, they might as well have made them excel in the knowledge of our common law, or of the *English* tongue; since our religion was as little known to the ancient sages and philosophers, as our language or our laws: and I cannot but wonder, that any divine should so much debase religion or true divinity, as to introduce them thus preposterously into the number of human sciences: whereas they came first to the *Jews*, and afterwards to the first Christians, by immediate revelation or instruction from God himself: thus *Abraham* learned, that there was but one true God, and in pursuit of that belief, contrary to the opinion of the learned *Chaldeans*, among whom he lived, was content to forefak his own country, and come into *Palestine*: so *Moses* was instructed to know God more particularly, and admitted both to see his glory, and to learn his name, *Jehovah*, and to institute from heaven the whole religion of the *Jews*: so the prophets, under the Old Testament, were taught to know the will of God, and thereby to instruct the people in it, and enabled to prophesy, and do miracles, for a testimony of their being truly sent from heaven. So our blessed Saviour came into the world to shew the will of his father, to teach his precepts and commands; and so his Apostles and their disciples were inspired by the
Holy

Holy Ghost, for the same ends. And all other theology in the world, in how learned nations and ages soever it flourished, yet ended in gross superstition and idolatry; so that human learning seems to have very little to do with true divinity, but, on the contrary, to have turned the Gentiles into false notions of the deity, and even to have misguided the *Jews* and the Christians, into the first sects and heresies that we find among them.

We know of little learning among the *Jews*, besides that of *Moses* and of *Solomon*, till after the captivity, in which their Priests grew acquainted with the language and learning of the *Chaldeans*; but this was soon lost, in such a broken state as theirs was, after their return to such a ruined city, and desolate country, and so often persecuted, by the credit of their enemies at the *Persian Court*: the learning, which afterward we find among the *Jews*, came in with the *Grecian* empire, that introduced their learning and language with their conquest into *Judea*. Before this, there were no division or sects among the *Jews*, but of such as followed the true prophets or the false, and worshipped God or *Baal*. With the *Grecian* language and learning entered their philosophy, and out of this arose the two great sects of *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*: the *Pharisees*, in all opinions which they could any way conform to their own worship or institutions, followed the philosophy of *Plato*; the *Sadducees*, of *Epicurus*. The first professed the strictest rules of virtue and vice, the hopes and fears of rewards and punishments in another world; the existence of angels, and Spirits separate from bodies: but the *Sadducees* believed little or nothing of any of these, further than to cover themselves from the hatred and persecution of the other sect, which was the most popular.

For

For that rabinical learning, that is pretended by the *Jews* to have begun so long before the captivity, and to have continued by tradition down to the time of the *Talmud*; I must confess, that notwithstanding the credit has been given to it, and all the legends introduced by it, in the last age; I cannot find any traces of it, which seem at all clear, beyond the time of the last dispersion of the *Jews* in the reign of *Adrian*, or the first, in that of *Vespasian*; and how little the *Jews* have gained by all this learning of their *Rabbins*, how ancient or modern soever, I leave to others to consider and determine, who have more esteem for it than I.

For Christianity, it came into the world, and so continued in the first age, without the least pretence of learning and knowledge, with the greatest simplicity of thought and language, as well as life and manners, holding forth nothing but piety, charity, and humility, with the belief of the *Messias* and of his kingdom; which appears to be the main scope of the Gospel, and of the preaching of the Apostles; and to have been almost concealed from the wise and the learned, as well as the mighty and the noble, by both which sorts it was either derided or persecuted.

The first, that made any use of learning, were the primitive Fathers of the second age, only to confute the idolatrous worship of the heathens, and their plurality of gods; endeavouring to evince the Being of one God, and immortality of the soul, out of some of their own ancient authors, both poets and philosophers, especially out of the writers of the *Platonic* sect, and the verses of *Orpheus* and the *Sibyls*, which then passed for genuine, though they have since by the moderns been questioned, if not exploded: thus *Minutius Felix*, *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, made use of the learning of such as were then ancient to them, and thereby became champions of the Christi-

an faith against the *Gentiles*, by force of their own weapons.

After the third century, and, upon the rise of the *Arian*, and other heresies, in the Christian Church, their learning seems chiefly to have been employed in the defence of the several opinions, professed by the Orthodox or the *Arians*, the western or the eastern churches, and so to have long continued, by the frequent rise of so many heresies in the church.

And I doubt this kind of learning has been but too great, and made too much use of, upon all the divisions of *Christendom*, since the restoration of learning in these western parts of the world: yet this very polemical learning has been chiefly employed, to prove their several opinions to be most agreeable to those of the ancient Fathers, and the institutions of the primitive times; which must needs give the preference to the ancients above the moderns in divinity, since we cannot pretend to know more of what they knew and practised than themselves: and I did as little believe, that any divine in *England* would compare himself or his learning with those Fathers, as that any of our physicians would theirs with *Hippocrates*, or our mathematicians with *Archimedes*.

One would think that the modern advocates, after having confounded all the ancients, and all that esteem them, might have been contented; but one of them I find, will not be satisfied to condemn the rest of the world, without applauding himself; and therefore, falling into a rapture upon the contemplation of his own wonderful performance, he tells us; *hitherto in the main I please myself, that there cannot be much said against what I have asserted, &c.*

I wonder a divine, upon such an occasion, should not at least have had as much grace as a *French* lawyer in *Montaigne*, who, after a dull tedious argument, that had wearied the court and the company, when he

went

went from the bar, was heard muttering to himself; *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*: but this writer, rather like the proud *Spaniard*, that would not have St. *Lawrence's* patience upon the grid-iron ascribed to the grace of God, but only to the true *Spanish* valour, will not have his own perfections and excellencies owing to any thing else, but the true force of his own modern learning; and thereupon he falls into this sweet ecstasy of joy, wherein I shall leave him till he come to himself.

The whole cause, between the pretensions of ancient and modern learning, will be the best decided by the comparison of the *persons* and the *things* that have been produced under the institutions and discipline of the one, or the other.

I leave that of *persons* to the observation of the present or last age, to which, it seems, the modern pretences are confined; and to the accounts given us by the best *Roman* and *Greek* historians, of what great spirits both Princes and Generals, as well as lawgivers and philosophers, have been formed under the doctrine and discipline of the ancient sciences; and to the characters of *Epaminondas*, *Agessilaus*, *Alcibiades*, *Philip* of *Macedon*, the two *Scipios*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Trajan*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and several others; and of the noble and transcendent virtues and heroic qualities of these, and such other ancients most renowned in story; their fortitude, their justice, their prudence, their temperance, their magnanimity, their clemency, their love to their country, and the sacrifice they made of their lives, or, at least, of their ease and quiet, to the service thereof: their eminent virtues both civil and military, by which they gained such famous victories over their enemies, such passionate love from their own countries, and such admiration of all men, both in their own and succeeding ages.

For *things* to be considered, they must be such as have been either of general use or pleasure to mankind.

In

In those of pleasure, as poetry, picture, statuary, eloquence, architecture, the point is yielded by the moderns; and must, of necessity, be so by any man that reads the descriptions of those ancient fabrics mentioned before, all in a breath; which were and will be the wonders of the world. Among other testimonies of their wit and science, in their inventions of pleasure, one might observe, that their very luxury was learned, in the disposition, order, and variety of their feasts; so contrived, as to entertain not only all the senses, but the imagination and intellectuals too; by perfumes, music, mimic, both dumb and vocal; short scenes and representations; buffoonries, or comical disputes to divert the company, and deceive as well as divide the time; besides more serious and philosophical discourses, arguments, and recitations.

But, above all others, they were most wonderful in their *shows* or *spectacula*, exhibited so often at *Rome*, to entertain the people in general, first by their *Ædils* and *Consuls*, and afterwards by their *Emperors*: not to speak of the magnificence and order of their theatres and triumphs: it is strange how such thoughts could so much as enter into any man's head, to derive, of a sudden, so much water into the midst of a town or field, as might represent a sea upon dry ground, bring ships or galleys rowing into it, and order an absolute sea-battle to be fought upon the land. At another time, to plant a vast wood of great and green trees in a plain field, all inclosed and replenished with all sorts of wild beasts, for the people to hunt, to kill, and to eat, next day at their feasts; and, the day after, all this to disappear, as if it had only been an apparition, or raised by enchantment. Such sort of achievements among the ancients, and such effects of their admirable science and genius in the invention and disposition of them, seem as difficult for us in these ages to comprehend, as for them to execute.

Now

Now for things of general use to mankind; they are the productions of agriculture, physick, and legislature, or political orders and institutions.

For the first; we owe them all to the ancients, who were the inventors of all arts necessary to life and sustenance, as plowing, sowing, planting, and conserving the fruits of the earth to a longer season. All sorts of grain, wine, oil, honey, cheese, are the most ancient inventions, and not at all improved by the moderns.

For physick, I leave it to be compared in the books and practice of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and the ancient *Arabians*, who followed their rules and methods, with those of *Paracelsus* and his chymical followers.

For political institutions, that tend to the preservation of mankind, by civil governments: 'tis enough to mention those of *Cyrus*, *Theseus*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Cbarondas*, *Romulus*, *Numa Pompilius*, besides the more ancient institutions of the *Assyrian* and *Egyptian* governments and laws, wherein may be observed such a reach of thought, such depth of wisdom, and such force of genius, as the presumption and flattery itself of our age will hardly pretend to parallel, by any of our modern civil institutions.

I know not why a very good reason, for the great advantage of ancient above modern learning, may not be justly drawn from the force and influence of climates, where they have grown; and why the regions of *Assyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, the Lesser *Asia*, *Greece*, *Rome*, and especially *China*, may not be allowed to produce naturally greater force of wit and genius, of invention and penetration, than *England*, *Holland*, or the northern parts of *France* and *Germany*, to which all our modern learning seems to have been confined: nor do I see, why the mighty progress of sciences, in those countries, may not, in a great measure, be ascribed unto the long peace and flourishing condition of those

those ancient empires, wherein the *Magi* and priests were so much honoured of old : and also to the freedom of thought and inquiry in the *Grecian* and *Italian* republics, wherein the ancient philosophers were so much esteemed : nor is it strange, that all learning should have been extinguished in those noble regions, by the conquests of barbarous nations, and those violent governments which have succeeded them, nor that the progress of it should be maimed by the perpetual wars and distractions that have infested *Europe*, ever since the fall of the *Roman* empire made way for so many several *Gothic* kingdoms or governments in this part of the world, where learning pretends to be so much advanced.

The greatest modern inventions seem to be those of the *load-stone* and *gun-powder* ; by the first whereof, navigation must be allowed to have been much improved and extended ; and by the last, the art military, both at sea and land, to have been wholly changed ; yet 'tis agreed, I think, that the *Chinese*s have had the knowledge and use of *gun-powder*, many ages before it came into *Europe* : and besides, both these have not served for any common or necessary use to mankind ; one having been employed for their destruction, not their preservation ; and the other, only to feed their avarice, or increase their luxury : nor can we say, that they are the inventions of this age, wherein learning and knowledge are pretended to be so wonderfully increased and advanced.

What has been produced for the use, benefit, or pleasure of mankind, by all the airy speculations of those, who have passed for the great advancers of knowledge and learning these last fifty years (which is the date of our modern pretenders) I confess I am yet to seek, and should be very glad to find. I have indeed heard of wondrous pretensions and visions of men, possessed with notions of the strange advancement

ment of learning and sciences, on foot in this age, and the progress they are like to make in the next: as, the universal medicine, which will certainly cure all that have it: the philosopher's stone, which will be found out by men that care not for riches: the transfusion of young blood into old men's veins, which will make them as gamefome as the lambs, from which 'tis to be derived: an universal language, which may serve all men's turn, when they have forgot their own: the knowledge of one another's thoughts, without the grievous trouble of speaking: the art of flying, till a man happens to fall down and break his neck: doubled bottomed ships, whereof none can ever be cast away, besides the first that was made: the admirable virtues of that noble and necessary juice called spittle, which will come to be sold, and very cheap, in the apothecaries shops: discoveries of new worlds in the planets, and voyages between this and that in the moon, to be made as frequently as between *York* and *London*: which such poor mortals, as I am, think as wild as those of *Ariosto*, but without half so much wit, or so much instruction; for there, these modern sages may know, where they may hope in time to find their lost senses, preserved in vials, with those of *Orlando*.

One great difference must be confessed between the ancient and modern learning: theirs led them to a sense and acknowledgment of their own ignorance, the imbecillity of human understanding, the incomprehension even of things about us, as well as those above us; so as the most sublime wits among the ancients ended in their *Ακνταληψία*: ours leads us to presumption, and vain ostentation of the little we have learned, and makes us think, we do, or shall know, not only all natural, but even what we call supernatural things; all in the heavens, as well as upon earth; more than all mortal men have known before our age; and shall know in time as much as angels.

Socrates

Socrates was by the *Delphic* oracle pronounced the wisest of all men, because he professed that he knew nothing: what would the oracle have said of a man that pretends to know every thing? *Pliny* the elder, and most learned of all the *Romans*, whose writings are left, concludes the uncertainty and weakness of human knowledge, with, *Constat igitur inter tanta incerta, nihil esse certi; præterquam hominem, nec miserius quicquam nec superbius*. But sure, our modern learned, and especially the divines of that sect, among whom it seems this disease is spread, and who will have the world, “to be ever improving, and that nothing is “forgotten that ever was known among mankind, must themselves have forgotten that humility and charity are the virtues which run through the scope of the Gospel; and one would think they never had read, or at least never minded, the first chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, which is allowed to have been written, not only by the wisest of men, but even by divine inspiration; where *Solomon* tells us,

The thing that has been, is that which shall be, and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It has been already of old time which was before us: there is no remembrance of former things, neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come, with those that shall come after.

These, with many other passages in that admirable book, were enough, one would think, to humble and mortify the presumption of our modern *Sciolists*, if their pride were not as great as their ignorance; or if they knew the rest of the world any better than they know themselves.

HEADS,

HEADS,

Designed for an

ESSAY

UPON THE

Different Conditions of LIFE and FORTUNE.

WHETHER a good condition, with fear of being ill, or an ill with hope of being well, pleases or displeases most.

The good of wisdom, as it most conduces to happiness.

The effect of happiness best discovered, by good humour, and satisfaction within.

Difference between being satisfied and content.

The value of virtue double, as of coin; one of stamp, which consists in the esteem of it; the other intrinsic, as most contributing to the good of private life, and public society.

Against

Against *Rochefoucault's* reflexions upon virtue ; *qu'elle n'ira pas loin, si elle n'est soutenue par la vanité.*

A man's wisdom, his best friend ; folly, his worst enemy.

No happiness with great pain ; and so all are exposed to small and common accidents.

The sting of a wasp, a fit of the stone, the biting of a mad dog, destroy for the time ; the two first, happiness ; and the other, wisdom itself.

The only way, for a rich man to be healthy, is by exercise, and abstinence, to live as if he was poor ; which are esteemed the worst parts of poverty.

Leisure and solitude, the best effect of riches, because mother of thought. Both avoided by most rich men, who seek company and business, which are signs of being weary of themselves.

Business, when loved, but as other diversions, of which, this is in most credit. Nothing so prejudicial to the public.

How few busy to good purpose, for themselves or country.

Virgil's morals in

Hic quibus invisi fratres, &c.

And, *Hic manus ob patriam, &c.*

Solomon's, enjoy the good of life, fear God, and keep his commandments.

Horace, in his *non es avarus*, to, *Quin te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?*

To mortify mankind in their designs of any transcendent happiness, *Solomon's Ecclesiastes*, and *Marcus Antoninus's* meditations, with *Almanzor* ; the greatest Princes of their times, and greatest men at all times.

The

The old man near the *Hague*, that served my house from his dairy, grew so rich that he gave it over; bought a house and furnished it, at the *Hague*, resolving to live at ease the rest of his life; grew so weary of being idle, he sold it, and returned again to his dairy.

If without other fears, yet that of death enough to spoil the greatest enjoyments.

Never to be foreseen — *Quod quisque vitet nusquam homini satis cautum est in boras.*

A thinking man can never live well, unless content to die.

'Tis difficult to love life, and yet be willing to part with it.

The golden sentences at *Delphos*: know thyself, Nothing too much. Fly contention and debt.

— *Quid te tibi reddat amicum.*

El mucho se gasta, y el poco, basta.

Many friends may do one little good; one enemy, much hurt.

In no man's power to avoid enemies; they injure by chance, in a crowd sometimes, and without design; then hate always, whom they have once injured.

To rich men, the greatest pleasures of sense either grow dull for want of difficulty, or hurt by excess.

The greatest advantages men have by riches are, to give, to build, to plant, and make pleasant scenes, of which, pictures and statues make the pleasantest part.

The greatest Prince, possessed with superstition and fears of death, more unhappy, than any private man of common fortune, and well constituted mind.

A Prince above all desires of more, or fears of change,
falls to enjoy the pleasures of leisure and good scenes:
for, in those of sense, he can have but his share, in
which nature has stinted all men.

To what we are capable of, a common fortune will
reach; the rest is but ostentation and vanity, which
are below a wise and thinking man.

*Who for each sickle fear from virtue shrinks,
Shall in this world enjoy no worthy thing;
No mortal man the cup of surety drinks;
But let us pick our good from out much bad,
That so our little world may know its King.*

Sir PHIL. SIDNEY.

* Quir's philosophy; that, when he could not get
off his boots at night, said, he knew as good a way;
to go to sleep with them on.

Whoever can die easily, may live easily.

The pursuit of wealth, by endless care and pains,
is grounded but upon the desire of being so much
further from want. That of power, place, and ho-
nour, but upon the prospect of being so much safer,
from the respect it gives; or the having others in our
power, instead of our being in theirs.

To take every thing by the right hand, rather than
the left, or the best end,

*Life have I worn out, thrice thirty years,
Some in much joy, many in fears:
Yet never complain'd of cold or heat;
Of winter storms, or summer sweat;
But gently took all that ungently came*

SPENCER.

The last Pope's way of getting the keys: *Nil pe-
tere, nil recusare, de nemine conqueri.*

How

* A little Moor that rode postilion,

How far the temper of mind and body may go towards relief of the worst conditions of fortune. How little, the best accidents, or conditions of fortune, towards the relieving the distempers of body or mind.

The true end of riches (next to doing good) ease and pleasure; the common effect, to increase care and trouble.

A man's happiness, all in his own opinion of himself and other things.

A fool happier in thinking well of himself, than a wise man, in others thinking well of him.

Any man unhappier, in reproaching himself, if guilty; than in others reproaching him, if innocent.

If a reasonable man satisfy himself, it will satisfy all others, that are worth the care of it.

Truth will be uppermost, one time or other, like cork, though kept down in the water.

To take care of the first ill action; which engages one in a course of them, unless owned and repented. It draws on disguise; that, lying, and unjust quarrels.

A shattered reputation, never again entire: honour in a man to be esteemed like that of a woman; once gone, never recovered.

All great and good things in the world brought to pass by care and order.

The end of all wisdom, happiness; in private, of one's own life; in public affairs, of the government.

The difference of both between one man and another; only whether a man governs his passions, or his passions him.

We ought to abstain from those pleasures, which, upon thought, we conclude, are likely to end in more trouble or pain, than they begin in joy or pleasure.

Youth

Youth naturally most inclined to the better passions ; love, desire, ambition, joy. Age to the worst ; avarice, grief, revenge, jealousy, envy, suspicion.

As nothing in this world is unmixed, so men should temper these passions one with another ; according to what, by age or constitution, they are most subject.

Pride and sufficiency in opinion of one's self, and scorn in that of others, the great bane of knowledge and life.

One man's reason better than another's, as it is more convincing ; else, every man's pretence to right reason alike.

'Tis hard going round the pole, to know what the greatest number of men agree in.

The wisest men easiest to hear advice, least apt to give it.

Men have different ends, according to different tempers ; are wise, as they choose ends that will satisfy, and the means to attain them.

Nothing so uncertain as general reputation ; a man injures me upon humour, passion, or interest, or standing in his way ; hates me, because he has injured me ; and speaks ill of me, because he hates me.

Besides, no humour so general, to find fault with others, as the way to value themselves.

A good man ought to be content, if he have nothing to reproach himself.

A restlessness in men's minds to be something they are not, and have something they have not, the root of all immorality.

Coolness of temper and blood, and consequently of desires, the great principle of all virtue.

This equally necessary, in moderating good fortune, and bearing ill.

None turned more to philosophy than *Solomon* and *Antoninus*, in the most prosperous fortunes,

The

The violences of *Tiberius* made more stoics at *Rome*, than all their schools.

Padre Paolo at seventy years: *when the spirits that furnish hopes fail, 'tis time to live no longer.*

The temper of great men should have force of vital spirits, great heat, and yet equality, which are hardly found together.

A humour apt to put great weight upon small matters, and consequently, to make much trouble out of little, is the greatest ingredient to unhappiness of life. The contrary, the greatest to happiness.

The best philosophy that which is natural to men, disposed to succeed in it, by their natural tempers, though improved by education, learning, and thought.

Sharpness cuts slight things best; solid, nothing cuts through but weight and strength; the same, in the use of intellectuals.

The two greatest mistakes among mankind, are to measure truth by every man's single reason: and not only to wish every body like one's self, but to believe them so too, and that they are only disguised in what they differ from us. Both the effect of natural self-love.

Men come to despise one another, by reckoning they have all the same ends with him that judges, only proceed foolishly towards them; when indeed their ends are different.

One man will not, for any respect of fortune, lose his liberty so much, as to be obliged to step over a kennel every morning: and yet to please a mistress, save a beloved child, serve his country or friend, will sacrifice all the ease of his life, nay his blood and life too, upon occasion.

Another will do the same for riches.

One will suffer all injuries without resentment, in pursuit of avarice or ambition; another will sacrifice all for revenge.

Pompey

Pompey fled among the *Egyptian* slaves to save his life, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, and loss of empire, and liberty of *Rome*. *Cæsar* chose to die once rather than live in fear of dying. *Cato* to die, rather than outlive the liberties of his country, or submit to a conqueror.

Atticus preferred the quiet of life, before all riches and power; and never entered into public cares.

Yet these all contemporaries, and the four greatest of *Rome*.

Mr. *H.* to me. If a King were so great to have nothing to desire nor fear, he would live just as you do.

Does any thing look more desirable than to be able to go just one's own pace and way? which belongs in the greatest degree to a private life. *Ut mihi vivam quod superest ævi.*

A man, in public affairs, is like one at sea; never in his own disposal, but in that of winds and tides.

To be bound for a port, one desires extremely, and sail to it with a fair gale, is very pleasant: but to live always at sea, and upon all adventures, is only for those who cannot live at land.

Non agimus tumidis velis, Aquilone secundo;

Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris.

When, after much working, one's head is very well settled, the best is, not to set it a working again. The more and longer it has worked at first, perhaps the finer and stronger: but every new working does but trouble and weaken it.

The greatest pleasure of life, is love: the greatest treasure, is contentment: the greatest possession, is health: the greatest ease, is sleep: and the greatest medicine, is a true friend.

Happiness of life depends much upon natural temper, which turns one's thoughts, either upon good,
in

in possession and hopes; or evil, in present sense or fears.

This makes the difference between melancholy and sanguine, between old and young, greater, than between those placed in any different degree of fortune.

The use of plenty, is the abuse of riches: for unless a rich man will, in some things, live like a poor one, he is not the better for his riches; his life will be the worse, and the shorter.

Every man will be happy; and none, by the constitution of nature, is capable of being so. We are capable of few pleasures; and reason and reflexion cut off many of those.

If the sun or moon eclipses; if a comet appear; a man is in pain: if a great storm of thunder or lightning, or violent seasons, or tempests: if any thing touch his life or his fortune; any passion at heart; or if he fears for his soul; he is an unhappy man.

Pride, the ground of most passions, and most frenzies.

The design of distinguishing one's self in some kind, general to all men; and from which most troubles arise.

Man is a thinking thing, whether he will or no; all he can do is to turn his thoughts the best way.

Since, in some degree, we must always either hope or fear, we should turn our thoughts upon some design or course of life that will entertain them with some kind of hopes. *Lente in voto.* If that cannot be, the next is, to seek diversion from thought, by business, sports, or labour.

After all, life is but a trifle, that should be plaid with till we lose it; and then it is not worth regretting.

If men are so happy, from nature or fortune, as to have nothing else to complain of, they trouble themselves with the thoughts that they must, or may die.

They take no pleasure in the feast because it must end.

There is but one general undisputed truth yet agreed on ; that whatever lives must die.

Dying is a piece of our nature, as well as living ; therefore, if not content with one, we cannot be perfectly so with the other.

Since death is unavoidable, nothing so impertinent as to trouble ourselves about it : but pain is not of so absolute necessity, therefore 'tis pardonable to endeavour the avoiding it.

The *Stoics* opinion of pain not being an evil, a mockery unnatural, and a strain of the highest disguise and affectation.

Whether conditions of life and fortune are not in all much alike ; at least so, in one great part of our lives: for sleep levels the poor and the rich, the honoured and disgraced, the Prince and the peasant.

Non domus aut fundi, non aris, &c.

These may entertain or heighten good humour where it is ; not raise it where it is not ; otherwise 'tis like music in mourning.

The plant may be improved by seasons and pains, but the root must be in the ground.

The intemperate give themselves no leave to feel hunger, thirst, want of sleep, or any other strong and natural desires, without which, the pleasures of eating, drinking, sleeping, and the rest, are all but weak and faint.

Restlessness of mind is the great cause of intemperance, seeking pleasures when nature does not ask, nor appetite prepare them.

No possessions good, but by the good use we make of them ; without which, wealth, power, friends, servants, do but help to make our lives more unhappy.

H E A D S

HEADS

Designed for an

ESSAY

ON

CONVERSATION.

MEN naturally or generally seek it with others,
and avoid it with themselves.

Both are necessary, one gives the stock, the
other improves it: one, without t'other,
unrefined.

Ability is drawn out into use, by occasions and ac-
cidents.

Paulum sepultæ distat inertia

Celata virtus.

Sometimes, in one age, great men are without great
occasions; in another, great occasions without great
men; and in both, one lost for want of the other.

No

No man willingly lives without some conversation; delicacy and distinction makes men called solitary.

Those that do upon vows or choice, in danger of some degrees of frenzy; the mind, like the stomach, when empty, preying upon itself.

Scipio, of all active and great men, the most contemplative, yet open to *Laelius* and other private friends.

Women and children, some sort of fools and madmen, the greatest talkers.

Men talk without thinking, and think without talking.

Order, the effect of thought, and cause of all good productions.

Silence in company (if not dulness or modesty) is observation or discretion.

To play or wrestle well should be used with those that do it better than you.

A man among children, long a child: a child among men, soon a man.

Nothing keeps a man from being rich, like thinking he has enough; nothing from knowledge and wisdom, like thinking he has both.

Nothing so unreasonable or insufferable in common conversation, as sufficiency.

Measuring all reason by our own, the commonest and greatest weakness; is an encroachment upon the common right of mankind.

Neither general rules, nor general practice, to be found further than notion.

Taste in conversation, from love or friendship, esteem or interest, pleasantness or amusement: the two first engage the first part of our lives; the two second, the middle; and the last the latter end.

Something like home that is not home, like alone that is not alone, to be wished, and only found in a friend, or in his house.

M^en

Men that do not think of the present, will be thinking of the past or future : therefore business or conversation is necessary to fix their thoughts on the present.

In the rest, seldom satisfaction, often discontent and trouble, unless to very sanguine humours.

The same in general speculations : witness *Solomon* and *Antoninus* ; for whose thoughts are not lost in the immensity of matter, the infinity of forms, the variety of productions, and continual vicissitude, or change of one to the other.

In conversation, humour is more than wit, easiness more than knowledge ; few desire to learn, or think they need it ; all desire to be pleased, or, if not, to be easy.

A fool may say many wise things, a wise man no foolish ones : good sense runs throughout.

Mr. Grantam's fool's reply to a great man that asked whose fool he was ? I am *Mr. Grantam's* fool : pray whose fool are you ?

Sudden replies esteemed the best and pleasanter veins of wit, not always so, of good sense.

Of all passions, none so soon and so often turns the brain, as pride.

A little vein of folly or whim, pleasant in conversation ; because it gives a liberty of saying things, that discreet men, though they will not say, are willing to hear.

The first ingredient in conversation is truth, the next good sense, the third good humour, and the fourth wit.

This last was formerly left to fools and buffoons kept in all great families.

Henry IV. of France, and *King James I. of England*, first gave repute to that sort of wit ; increased by *King Charles II.*

In King *Charles I.* time, all wit, love, and honour, heightened by the wits of that time into romance.

Lord *Goreign* took the contrepied, and turned all into ridicule.

He was followed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that vein, favoured by King *Charles II.* brought it in vogue.

Truth is allowed the most esteemable quality : the lie is the greatest reproach.

Therefore allowed formerly a just occasion of combat by law, and since that time, by honour, in private duels.

Good breeding a necessary quality in conversation, to accomplish all the rest, as grace in motion and dancing.

It is harder, in that, to dance a corrant well than a jig : so in conversation, even, easy, and agreeable, more than points of wit ; which unless very naturally they fall in of themselves, and not too often, are disliked in good company : because they pretend to more than the rest, and turn conversation from good sense to wit, from pleasant to ridicule, which are the meaner parts.

To make other's wit appear more than one's own, a good rule in conversation : a necessary one, to let others take notice of your wit, and never do it yourself.

Flattery, like poison, requires of all others the finest infusion.

Of all things the most nauseous, the most shocking and hardest to bear.

K. *James I.* used to say, nay, by my soul, that's too hard.

Pride and roughness may turn one's humour, but flattery turn's one's stomach.

Both

Both extremes to be avoided: if we must lean one way, better to bluntness and coldness, which is most natural, than to flattery which is artificial.

This is learned in the slavery of Courts, or ill fortune; the other in the freedom of the country, and a fortune one is content with.

Nothing so nauseous as undistinguished civility; 'tis like a whore, or an hostess, who looks kindly upon every body that comes in.

It is fit only for such persons of quality as have no other way to draw company, and draws only such as are not welcome any where else.

Court conversation, without love or business, of all the other, the most tasteless.

A Court, properly a fair, the end of it trade and gain: for none would come to be jostled in a crowd, that is easy at home, nor go to service, that thinks he has enough to live well of himself.

Those that come to either, for entertainment, are the dupes of the traders, or, at least, the rallery.

All the skill of a Court is to follow the Prince's present humour, talk the present language, serve the present turn, and make use of the present interest of one's friends.

Bluntness and plainness in a Court, the most refined breeding.

Like something in a dress that looks neglected, and yet is very exact.

When I consider, how many noble and esteemable men, how many lovely and agreeable women, I have outlived among my acquaintance and friends, methinks it looks impertinent to be still alive.

Changes in veins of wit, like those of habits, or other modes.

Upon K. Charles II.'s return, none more out of fashion among the new courtiers, than the old Earl of
Norwich,

Norwich, that was esteem'd the greatest wit in his father's time, among the old.

Our thoughts are express'd by speech, our passions and motions as well without it.

Telling our griefs lessens them, and doubles our joys.

To hate company unnatural, or to be always silent in it.

Sociable, a quality ascribed to mankind.

Yet hatred, or distaste, brought *Timon* to live alone, and the shipwrecked men in an island of the *Indies*.

'Tis very different to live in little company, or in none.

Proper for age to retire, as for youth to produce itself in the world.

One shews merit, or the hopes they may one day have it; the other has none, they never can.

Proper for one to shew excellencies in any kind; for the other to hide their defaults.

'Tis not to live, to be hid all one's life; but, if one has been abroad all day, one may be allowed to go home upon any great change of weather or company.

Nothing so useful as well chosen conversation, or so pernicious as ill.

There may be too much as well as too little.

Solitude damps thought and wit; too much company dissipates and hinders it from fixing.

In retreat a man feels more how life passes; if he likes it, is the happier; if he dislikes it, the more miserable, and ought to change for company, business, or entertainments, which keep a man from his own thoughts, and reflexions.

Study gives strength to the mind; conversation, grace: the first apt to give stiffness, the other suppleness: one gives substance and form to the statue, t'other polishes it.

The

The great happiness is to have a friend to observe and tell one of one's faults, whom one has reason to esteem, and is apt to believe.

The great miscarriages of life come from the want of a good pilot, or from a sufficiency to follow one's own course or humour.

Sometimes out of pride to contradict others, or shew one needs no instruction.

Do nothing to lose common reputation, which is the best possession of life, especially that of honour and truth.

Roughness or authority in giving counsel, easiness to receive all, or obstinacy to receive none, equally to be avoided.

Too much delicacy in one, or the other, of ill effect.

Mark what makes other men esteemed, and imitate; what disesteemed, and avoid it.

Many very learned and able, without being agreeable; more the contrary.

Company to be avoided, that are good for nothing; to be sought and frequented, that excel in some quality or other.

Of all excellencies that make conversation, good sense and good nature the most necessary, humour the pleasantest.

To submit blindly to none, to preserve the liberty of one's own reason; to dispute for instruction, not victory, and yield to reason as soon as it appears to us, from whence soever it comes.

This is to be found in all conditions and degrees of men, in a farmer or miller sometimes, as well as a lawyer or divine, among the learned and the great; though their reputation or manner often imposes on us.

The best rules to form a young man, to talk little, to hear much, to reflect alone upon what has passed in company, to distrust one's own opinions, and value others that deserve it.

The chief ingredient into the composition of those qualities, that gain esteem and praise, are good nature, truth, good sense, and good breeding.

Good nature is seen in a disposition to say and do, what one thinks will please or profit others.

Good breeding in doing nothing, one thinks will either hurt or displease them.

Good nature and good sense come from our births or tempers : good breeding and truth, chiefly by education and converse with men. Yet truth seems much in one's blood, and is gained too by good sense and reflexion that nothing is a greater possession, nor of more advantage to those that have it, as well as those that deal with it.

Offensive and undistinguished rallery comes from ill nature, and desire of harm to others, though without good to one's self.

Or vanity and a desire of valuing ourselves, by shewing others faults and follies, and the comparison with ourselves, as free from them.

This vein in the world was originally railing ; but, because that would not pass without return of blows, men of more wit than courage brought in this refinement, more dangerous to others, and less to themselves.

Charles Brandon's motto at a tournament, upon his marriage with the Queen ; the trappings of his horse being half cloth of gold, and the other half frize.

*Cloth of gold, do not despise,
Tho' thou art match'd with cloth of frize :
Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
Tho' thou art match'd with cloth of gold.*

VIRGIL's

VIRGIL's

LAST

E C L O G U E.

ONE labour more, O *Arethusa*, yield,
Before I leave the shepherds and the field:
Some verses to my *Gallus* ere we part,
Such as may one day break *Lycoris*' heart,
As she did his. Who can refuse a song,
To one that lov'd so well, and dy'd so young!
So may'st thou thy belov'd *Alpheus* please,
When thou creep'st under the *Sicanian* seas,
Begin, and sing *Gallus*' unhappy fires,
Whilst yonder goat to yonder branch aspires
Out of his reach. We sing not to the deaf;
An answer comes from ev'ry trembling leaf.
What woods, what forests had intic'd your stay,
Ye *Naiades*, why came ye not away
When *Gallus* dy'd by an unworthy flame?
Parnassus knew, and lov'd too well, his name,
To stop your course; nor could your hasty flight
Be staid by *Pindus*, which was his delight.
Him the fresh lawrels, him the lowly heath
Bewail'd with dewy tears; his parting breath
Made lofty *Mænalus* hang his piny head;
Lycean marbles wept, when he was dead.

Under

Under a lonely tree he lay and pin'd,
 His flock about him, feeding on the wind,
 As he on love; such kind and gentle sheep
 The fair *Adonis* would be proud to keep.
 There came the shepherds, there the weary hinds,
 Thither *Menalcas*, parch'd with frost and winds;
 All ask'd him whence, for whom, this fatal love:
Apollo came, his arts and herbs to prove.
 Why, *Gallus*? why so fond? he says; thy flame,
 Thy care, *Lycoris*, is another's game;
 For him she sighs and raves, him she pursues,
 Through mid-day's heats, and through the morning dews;
 Over the snowy cliffs, and frozen streams,
 Through noisy camps. Up, *Gallus*, leave thy dreams:
 She has left thee. Still lay the drooping swain,
 Hanging his mourning head: *Phœbus* in vain
 Offers his herbs, employs his counsel here;
 'Tis all refus'd or answer'd with a tear.
 What shakes the branches! what makes all the trees
 Begin to bow their heads, the goats their knees!
 Oh! 'tis *Sylvanus*, with his mossy beard
 And leafy crown, attended by a herd
 Of wood-born satyrs; see! he shakes his spear,
 A green young oak, the tallest of the year.
Pan, the *Arcadian* god, forsook the Plains,
 Mov'd with the story of his *Gallus*' pains.
 We saw him come, with oaten-pipe in hand,
 Painted with berries-juice; we saw him stand:
 And gaze upon his shepherd's bathing eyes;
 And, what no end, no end of grief! he cries.
 Love little minds all thy consuming care,
 Or restless thoughts; they are his daily fare.
 Nor cruel love with tears, nor grass with show'rs,
 Nor goats with tender sprouts, nor bees with flow'rs,
Are

Are ever satisfy'd. So said the god,
 And touch'd the shepherd with his hazle rod :
 He, sorrow-slain, seem'd to revive, and said,
 But yet, *Arcadians*, is my grief allay'd,
 To think, that in these woods, and hills, and plains,
 When I am silent in the grave, your swains
 Shall sing my loves, *Arcadian* swains inspir'd
 By *Phæbus* ; Oh ! how gently shall these tir'd
 And fainting limbs repose in endless sleep,
 Whilst your sweet notes my love immortal keep !
 Would it had pleas'd the gods, I had been born
 Just one of you, and taught to wind a horn,
 Or wield a hook, or prune a branching vine,
 And known no other love, but, *Phillis*, thine ;
 Or thine, *Amintas* ; what though both are brown ?
 So are the nuts and berries on the down ;
 Amongst the vines, the willows, and the springs,
Phillis makes garlands, and *Amintas* sings.
 No cruel absence calls my love away,
 Farther than bleating sheep can go astray.
 Here, my *Lycoris*, here are shady groves,
 Here fountains cool, and meadows soft ; our loves
 And lives may here, together, wear and end :
 O the true joys of such a fate and friend !
 I now am hurried, by severe commands,
 To eastern regions, and among the bands
 Of armed troops ; there, by my foes pursu'd,
 Here, by my friends ; but still by love subdu'd,
 Thou far from home, and me, art wand'ring o'er
 The *Alpine* snows ; the farthest western shore,
 The frozen *Rhina*. When are we like to meet ?
 Ah gently, gently, least thy tender feet
 Be cut with ice. Cover thy lovely arms ;
 The northern cold relents not at their charms :

Away

Away I'll go, into some shady bow'rs,
 And sing the songs I made in happy hours;
 And charm my woes. How can I better chuse,
 Than among wildest woods myself to loose,
 And carve our loves upon the tender trees?
 There they will thrive: see, how my love agrees
 With the young plants: look how they grow together,
 In spite of absence, and in spite of weather.
 Mean time, I'll climb that rock, and ramble o'er
 Yon woody hill; I'll chace the grizly boar.
 I'll find *Diana's*, and her nymphs resort;
 No frosts, no storms, shall slack my eager sport.
 Methinks I'm wand'ring all about the rocks,
 And hollow sounding woods: look how my locks,
 Are torn with boughs and thorns! my shafts are gone,
 My legs are tir'd and all my sport is done.
 Alas! this is no cure for my disease;
 Nor can our toils that cruel god appease.
 Now neither nymphs, nor songs, can please me more,
 Nor hollow woods, nor yet the chafed boar:
 No sport, no labour can divert my grief:
 Without *Lycoris*, there is no relief.
 Though I should drink up *Heber's* icy streams,
 Or *Scythian* snows, yet still her fiery beams
 Would scorch me up. Whatever we can prove,
 Love conquers all, and we must yield to love.

H O R A C E. Lib. 4. Ode 7,

THE snows are melted all away,
 The fields grow flow'ry, green, and gay,
 The trees put on their tender leaves;
 And all the streams, that went astray,
 The brook again into her bed receives.

See!

Part III. MISCELLANEA. 483

See ! the whole earth has made a change,
The nymphs and graces naked range
About the fields, who shrunk before
Into their caves. The empty grange
Prepares its room, for a new summer's store.

Left thou shouldst hope immortal things,
The changing year instruction brings,
The fleeting hour, that steals away
The beggar's time, and life of Kings,
But ne'er returns them, as it does the day.

The cold grows soft with western gales,
The *Summer* over *Spring* prevails,
But yields to *Autumn's* fruitful rain,
As this to *Winter* storms and hails ;
Each loss the hasting moons repair again.

But we, when once our race is done,
With *Tullus*, and *Anchises'* son,
(Though rich like one, like t'other good)
To dust and shades, without a sun,
Descend, and sink in deep oblivion's flood.

Who knows, if the kind gods will give
Another day to men that live
In hope of many distant years ;
Or if one night more shall retrieve
The joys thou lovest, by thy idle fears ?

The pleasant hours thou spend'st in health,
The use thou mak'st of youth and wealth,
As what thou giv'st among thy friends
Escapes thy heirs, so those the stealth
Of time and death, where good and evil ends.

For

For when that comes, nor birth, nor fame,
 Nor piety, nor honest name,
 Can e'er restore thee. *Theseus* bold,
 Nor chaste *Hippolitus* could tame
 Devouring fate, that spares nor young nor old.

H O R A C E. Lib. I. Ode 13.

W H E N thou commend'st the lovely eyes
 Of *Telephus*, that for thee dies,
 His arms of wax, his neck, or hair;
 Oh! how my heart begins to beat,
 My spleen is swell'd with gall and heat,
 And all my hopes are turn'd into despair.

Then both my mind and colour change,
 My jealous thoughts about me range,
 In twenty shapes; my eyes begin,
 Like winter-springs, apace to fill;
 The stealing drops, as from a still,
 Fall down, and tell what fires I feel within.

When his reproaches make thee cry,
 And thy fresh cheeks with paleness die,
 I burn, to think you will be friends;
 When his rough hand thy bosom strips,
 Or his fierce kisses tear thy lips,
 I die, to see how all such quarrel ends.

Ah never hope a youth to hold,
 So haughty, and in love so bold;
 What can him tame in anger keep?
 Whom all this fondness can't assuage,
 Who even kisses turns to rage,
 Which *Venus* does in her own *Nectar* sleep.

Thrice

Thrice happy they, whose gentle hearts,
Till death itself, their union parts,
An undisturbed kindness holds,
Without complaints or jealous fears,
Without reproach or spited tears,
Which damps the kindest heats with sudden colds.

Upon the Approach of the Shore at *Harwich*,

In *January*, 1668,

Begun under the M A S T.

Welcome the fairest and the happiest earth,
Seat of my hopes and pleasures, as my birth:
Mother of well-born souls, and fearless hearts,
In arms renown'd, and flourishing in arts.
The island of good nature, and good cheer,
That elsewhere only pass, inhabit here.
Region of valour, and of beauty too;
Which shews, the brave are only fit to woo.
No child thou hast, ever approach'd thy shore,
That lov'd thee better, or esteem'd thee more.
Beaten with journeys, both of land and seas,
Weary'd with care, the busy man's disease;
Pinch'd with the frost, and parched with the wind;
Giddy with rolling, and with fasting pin'd;
Spited and vex'd, that winds, and tides, and sands,
Should all conspire to cross such great commands,
As haste me home, with an account, that brings
The doom of kingdoms to the best of Kings:
Yet I respire at thy reviving sight,
Welcome as health, and chearful as the light.

How I forget my anguish and my toils,
 Charm'd at th' approach of thy delightful soils !
 How, like a mother, thou hold'st out thy arms,
 To save thy children from pursuing harms,
 And open'st thy kind bosom, where they find
 Safety from waves, and shelter from the wind :
 Thy cliffs so stately, and so green thy hills,
 This with respect, with hope the other fills
 All that approach thee ; who believe they find
 A spring for winter, that they left behind.
 Thy sweet inclosures, and thy scatter'd farms,
 Shew thy security from thy neighbour's harms ;
 Their sheep in houses, and their men in towns,
 Sleep only safe ; thine rove about the downs,
 And hills, and groves, and plains, and know no fear
 Of foes, or wolves, or cold, throughout the year.
 Their vast and frightful woods seem only made
 To cover cruel deeds, and give a shade
 To savage beasts, who on the weaker prey,
 Or human savages more wild than they.
 Thy pleasant thickets, and thy shady groves,
 Only relieve the heats, and cover loves,
 Shelt'ring no other thefts or cruelties,
 But those of killing or beguiling eyes.
 Their famish'd hinds, by cruel Lords enslav'd,
 Ruin'd by taxes, and by foldiers brav'd,
 Know no more ease than just what sleep can give ;
 Have no more heat and courage but to live :
 Thy brawny clowns, and sturdy seamen, fed
 With manly food that their own fields have bred,
 Safe in their laws, and easy in their rent,
 Bless'd in their King, and in their State content ;
 When they are call'd away from herd and plough
 To arms, will make all foreign forces bow,

And

And shew how much a lawful Monarch saves,
 When twenty subjects beat an hundred slaves.
 Fortunate island ! if thou didst but know
 How much thou dost to heaven and nature owe !
 And if thy humour were as good, as great
 Thy forces, and as blest'd thy soil as feat :
 But then with numbers thou would'st be o'er-run :
 Strangers, to breathe thy air, their own would shun ;
 And of thy children none abroad would roam,
 But for the pleasure of returning home.
 Come, and embrace us in thy saving arms,
 Command the waves to cease their rough alarms,
 And guard us to thy port that we may see
 Thou art indeed the Empress of the sea.
 So may thy ships about the ocean course,
 And still increase in number and in force.
 So may no storms ever infest thy shores,
 But all the winds that blow increase thy stores.
 May never more contagious air arise
 To close so many of thy childrens eyes :
 But all about thee health and plenty vye,
 Which shall seem kindest to thee, earth or sky.
 May no more fires be seen among thy towns,
 But charitable beacons on thy downs,
 Or else victorious bonfires in thy streets,
 Kindled by winds that blow from off thy fleets.
 May'st thou feel no more fits of factious rage,
 But all distempers may thy *Charles* assuage,
 With such a well-tun'd concord of his state,
 As none but ill, and hated men, may hate.
 And may'st thou from him endless Monarchs see,
 Whom thou may'st honour, who may honour thee.
 May they be *wise* and *good* : thy happy feat
 And stores will never fail to make them *great*.

H O R A C E,

HORACE, Lib. 3. Ode 29.

I.

MECÆNAS, off-spring of *Tyrrhenian* kings,
 And worthy of the greatest empire's sway,
 Unbend thy working mind a while, and play
 With softer thoughts, and looser strings;
 Hard iron, ever wearing, will decay.

II.

A piece untouch'd of old and noble wine
 Attends thee here; soft essence for thy hair,
 Of purple violets made, or lilies fair;
 The roses hang their heads and pine,
 And, till you come, in vain perfume the air.

III.

Be not inveigled by the gloomy shades
 Of *Tiber*, nor cool *Anien's* crystal streams;
 The sun is yet but young, his gentle beams
 Revive, and scorch not up the blades.
 The spring, like virtue, dwells between extremes,

IV.

Leave fulsome plenty for a while, and come
 From stately palaces that tower so high,
 And spread so far; the dust and business fly,
 The smoke and noise of mighty *Rome*,
 And cares, that on embroider'd carpets lie.

V.

V.

It is vicissitude that pleasure yields
To men, with greatest wealth and honours blest;
And sometimes homely fare, but cleanly dress,
In country farms, or pleasant fields,
Clears up a cloudy brow, and thoughtful breast.

VI.

Now the cold winds have blown themselves away,
The frosts are melted into pearly dews;
The chirping birds each morning tell the news
Of chearful spring and welcome day.
The tender lambs follow the bleating ewes.

VII.

The vernal bloom adorns the fruitful trees
With various dress; the soft and gentle rains
Begin with flowers to enamel all the plains.
The turtle with her mate agrees;
And wanton nymphs with their enamour'd swains.

VIII.

Thou art contriving in thy mind, what state
And form becomes that mighty city best:
Thy busy head can take no gentle rest,
For thinking on th' events and fate
Of factious rage, which has her long oppress.

IX.

Thy cares extend to the remotest shores
Of her vast empire; how the *Persian* arms;
Whether the *Bastrians* join their troops; what harms
From the *Cantabrians* and the *Moors*
May come, or the tumultuous *German* swarms

X.

X.

But the wise powers above that all things know,
In sable night have hid th' events, and train
Of future things; and with a just disdain
Laugh, when poor mortals here below
Fear without cause, and break their sleeps in vain.

XI.

Think how the present thou may'st best compose
With equal mind, and without endless cares;
For the unequal course of state affairs,
Like to the ocean, ebbs and flows,
Or rather like our neighbouring *Tiber* fares.

XII.

Now smooth and gentle through her channel creeps,
With soft and easy murmurs purling down:
Now swells and rages, threat'ning all to drown:
Away both corn and cattle sweeps,
And fills with noise and horror fields and town.

XIII.

After a while, grown calm, retreats again
Into her sandy bed and softly glides.
So *Jove* sometimes in fiery chariot rides
With cracks of thunder, storms of rain,
Then grows serene, and all our fears derides.

XIV.

He only lives content, and his own man,
Or rather master, who, each night, can say,
'Tis well, thanks to the gods, I've liv'd to-day;
This is my own, this never can,
Like other goods, be forc'd or stoll'n away.

XV.

XV.

And for to-morrow, let me weep or laugh,
Let the sun shine, or storms or tempests ring,
Yet 'tis not in the power of fates, a thing
Should ne'er have been, or not be safe,
Which flying time has cover'd with her wing.

XVI.

Capricious fortune plays a scornful game
With human things; uncertain as the wind:
Sometimes to thee, sometimes to me is kind:
Throws about honours wealth, and fame,
At random, heedless, humorous, and blind.

XVII.

He's wife, who, when she smiles, the good enjoys,
And unallay'd with fears of future ill;
But, if she frowns, e'en let her have her will.
I can with ease resign the toys,
And lie wrap'd up in my own virtue still.

XVIII.

I'll make my court to honest poverty,
An easy wife, although without a dower:
What nature asks will yet be in my power;
For without pride or luxury,
How little serves to pass the fleeting hour?

XIX.

'Tis not for me, when winds and billows rise,
And crack the mast, and mock the seamen's cares,
To fall to poor and mercenary prayers;
For fear, the *Tyrian* merchandise
Should all be lost, and not enrich my heirs.

XX.

XX.

I'll rather leap into the little boat,
Which without flutt'ring sails shall waft me o'er
The swelling waves, and then I'll think no more
Of ship, or fraught : but change my note,
And thank the gods, that I am safe a-shore.

H O R A C E.

Non domus et fundus, non aris acervus & auri.

NOR house, nor lands, nor heaps of plate, or gold,
Can cure a fever's heat, or ague's cold,
Much less a mind with grief or care oppress'd :
No man's possessions e'er can make him blest'd,
That is not well himself, and sound at heart ;
Nature will ever be too strong for art.
Whoever feeds vain hopes, or fond desires,
Distracting fears, wild love, or jealous fires ;
Is pleas'd with all his fortunes, like sore eyes
With curious pictures ; gouty legs and thighs
With dancing ; or half-dead and aking ears
With music, while the noise he hardly hears.
For if the cask remains unsound or sow'r,
Be the wine ne'er so rich, or sweet, you pour,
'Twill take the vessel's taste, and lose its own,
And all you fill were better let alone.

TIBUL-

TIBULLUS, Lib. 4. El. 2.

TO worship thee, O mighty *Mars*, upon
 Thy sacred calends is *Sulpitia* gone :
 If thou art wise, leave the celestial sphere,
 And for a while come down to see her here :
Venus will pardon ; but take heed her charms
 Make thee not, gazing, soon let fall thy arms :
 When love would set the gods on fire, he flies
 To light his torches at her sparkling eyes.
 Whate'er *Sulpitia* does, where-e'er she goes,
 The Graces all her motions still compose :
 How her hair charms us, when it loosely falls,
 Comb'd back and ty'd our veneration calls ;
 If she comes out in scarlet, how she turris
 Us all to ashes ; though in white, she burns.
Vertumnus so a thousand dresses wears,
 So, in a thousand, every grace appears :
 Of all the virgins, she deserves alone
 In *Tyrian* purple to adorn a throne ;
 She, to possess, and reap the spicy fields,
 Gather the gums that rich *Arabia* yields ;
 She, all the orient pearls, that grow in shells,
 Along the shores, where the tann'd *Indian* dwells.
 For her, the muses tune their charming lays,
 For her, upon his harp, *Apollo* plays ;
 May she this feast for many years adore,
 None can become, deserve an altar more.

F I N I S.

